On the Cusp of an Era

ART IN THE PRE-KUṢĀṆA WORLD



EDITED BY

DORIS METH SRINIVASAN

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On the cover: *Lavender Flowers near Maimana.* © Luke Powell

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

PRE-KUṢĀṆA ART: A NEW CONCEPT

Doris Meth Srinivasan

A book devoted to an understanding of Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art has not been previously attempted. The easiest explanation, which also reflects accurately one reason for this lacuna, is that 'Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art' implies that it is an art understood in terms Kuṣāṇa art, which itself has not been the subject of a comprehensive monograph. Given that Kuṣāṇa art comprises the first schools of art on the Indian subcontinent, and that its precursor, Pre-Kuṣāṇa art, could shed light on developments leading towards the flourishing of creativity during Kuṣāṇa times, this unusual situation in the annals of South Asian scholarship needs comment.

Scholarly studies about the Kuṣāṇa Period and its art began in earnest in the early 20th century, making this period one of the few in South Asian art history that has an established investigational track, almost like specific art historical periods in Western art. But these studies are not about Kuṣāṇa art. A distinction needs to be made between Kuṣāṇa art and art made during the Kuṣāṇa Period. Recognizing the distinction will, I think, clarify why no comprehensive study on Kuṣāṇa art has yet appeared. Studies about art during the Kuṣāṇa Period concentrate on the material remains from different sites within the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Sculpture, architecture, painting, coins, glassware, terracottas, glyptics etc. are, on an individual basis, subjected to the entire panoply of tools the art historian—as well as the cultural historian, the historian of religions, the archaeologist, philologist, numismatist—can muster. The investigations have been building a corpus and are extremely important in their analyses of the dating, iconography, stylistic features, provenance and significance of specific segments of the Kuṣāṇa output. But as yet no synthesis has been made of these individual studies. Such a synthesis would constitute a work that could be called 'Kuṣāṇa Art'. Clearly, Kuṣāṇa art is more than representations pertaining to a dynasty called Kuṣāṇas, who established themselves over a vast territory in South Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Kuṣāṇa art is not a 'shorthand' for the art of the Kuṣāṇa period focussing on the official art stemming from the dynasty. The latter view is held by G. Fussman because the dynastic output is coherent and interrelated whether coins, scuplture or dynastic architecture be considered.[1] The consequences of this position are immense for the art historian—due to the implied omissions. Kuṣāṇa art which does not portray dynastic rulers, devotees or motifs traceable to Kuṣāṇa coinage would be omitted. Most folk art, *vaiṣṇava* art,[2] Jain art,[3] reliefs of the Warrior Goddess (i.e. the later Mahiṣāsuramardinī), Lakṣmī, Mother Goddesses,—and more—would not be included.[4] Envisioning a single, unifying theme—the dynastic arts of the Kuṣāṇas—at the expense of the enormous complexity of all the art made in this period within the Empire prevents a serious dialogue within the discipline of art history to discover and reevalute new connections, issues and interrelationships.

Because of its complexity, we are not even now ready to write a history of 'Kuṣāṇa Art'. Perhaps no phase of South Asian art is as complex to synthesize as this one. The art comes predominantly from two regions which formed part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. The Gangetic region, especially the area of and around Mathurā, U.P. produced Kuṣāṇa art that developed largely along indigenous stylistic, cultural and religious lines; this production constitutes one of the two early schools: the Mathurā School of art. The second school is in the northwest of the subcontinent in what was considered Gandhāra, plus the Greater Gandhāran region. Today the territory is in Pakistan

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[1] Gérard Fussman, "L'empire kouchan" in Osmund Bopearachchi et al., *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale* [exh. cat. Musée de Lattes] (Lattes, 2003), 172.

[2] The unique British Museum seal (#1892.11–3.98) of the fourth-fifth century A.D. showing an "Iranian Central Asian" devotee with Viṣṇu, is not a dynastic Kuṣāṇa; see Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th century B.C.–11th century A.D.)*, (Naples, 1997), 190.

[3] I know of only one relief showing a figure (possibly donor/devotee) in Scythian dress. See P. Pal, *Jain Art from India*, [exh. cat. Los Angeles County Museum of Art] (Los Angeles, 1994) No. 53.

[4] For examples of what is included, see the plates in the superb treatment of Kuṣāṇa dynastic arts in John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967). An approach which continues to discuss the art according to the different schools while reserving the name of 'Kuṣāṇa Art' for the official art of the dynasty is presented by Gérard Fussman in his entry "Kuṣāṇa Arte," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale.* Secondo Supplemento, 1971–1994/1994–97; 218. An early exemplary approach to Kuṣāṇa art by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period* (Leiden, 1949) includes Buddhist and Jain art of Mathurā and Gandhāra in order to outline the development of Buddha and Jina images. A preview of the diversity is seen in S.J. Czuma with assistance of R. Morris, *Kushan*

and northeastern Afghanistan. The art from this territory responded to a vast array of foreign and local influences. These two schools do not however limit the number of Kuṣāṇa artistic styles. Whereas the Mathurā and Gandhāran styles dominate, there are provincial styles to be reckoned with. This accounts for the richness of the corpus and the occasional difficulty in assigning authenticity and/or provenance to individual pieces. Lack of a coherent number of styles is understandable when the enormous extent of the Empire is taken into account. At the beginning of an era inaugurated by the Kuṣāṇa Emperor Kaniṣka, the Empire extended from Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, western Afghanistan to Pakistan, northern India, up to Bengal and the Narmada River. Thus, in future work on 'Kuṣāṇa Art,' the guiding principle will be based on art produced within specific historic and geographic brackets. Kuṣāṇa art, not unlike Roman art, must be recognized as comprising different artistic expressions within the Empire. Kampen's preceptive observation on Roman art, written in 2003, could apply equally well to Kuṣāṇa art:

> We find it difficult even today to imagine that there can have been so many kinds of art in the Roman Empire, but as soon as we accept the nature of this empire as fundamentally diverse and its government as often willing to accept that diversity, the desire for a single Roman art is revealed as a manifestation of a particular modern historical situation.[5]

Diversity has to be factored into very fabric of Kuṣāṇa art, so that Kuṣāṇa art becomes equated with the material manifestations of particular moments in history.

Remarkable diversity of subject matter characterizes Kuṣāṇa art. It contains dynastic art depicting Kuṣāṇa rulers. It is infused with nomadic themes especially in its portrayal of combat. The corpus includes decorative arts with remains from clothing, furniture, personal adornments and architectural fragments. But most of all, Kuṣāṇa art comprises religious art. Sculpture, seals, glyptics and coins portray gods, devotees, and practitioners from different sects of Buddhism and Hinduism, from Jainism, Mithraism, plus from Classical, Egyptain, Western Asiatic and local belief systems. The range of materials is equally diversified, ranging from the red and buff colored sandstone

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Sculpture: Images from Early India [exh. cat. The Cleveland Museum of Art] (Cleveland, 1985).

[5] Natalie Boymel Kampen, "On Writing Histories of Roman Art," *Art Bulletin* (June 2003), 372. This invited paper was in the series 'The State of Art History.'

of the Mathurā School and the different types of schist used in Gandhāra, to ivory, limestone, glass, possibly marble, bone, plaster, clay and metal found at various sites.[6] It is hard to isolate another period in the history of South Asian art that depicts images of so many different beliefs, in so many different styles, in so many different materials stemming from so vast and varied a terrain.

Why then insist that this hodgepodge should be called Kuṣāṇa art? Why not divide the output into manageable bundles? Because during the time of the Kuṣāṇa Empire, and even before, the components of this heterogenous mixture interacted and influenced one another so that an accurate understanding of the whole requires an understanding of its parts. Also, the designation 'Kuṣāṇa Art' underscores that certain artistic features were introduced or came to the fore as a result of the rule of the Kuṣāṇas. In that sense, the dynastic label has validity. Artistic traditions could have evolved differently if, let us say, the Śuṅgas or Local Rulers held sway over the region or if the Parthians held on. During the Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa ages, artists and art centers came in contact with each other much more than in earlier times.

It is only within the last few years that there is a consensus on the hypothetical absolute dating of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Despite some scholars' disagreement, agreement is forging on the timespan involved. The dating of the Empire extends from its height of power marked by Kaniṣka's inauguration of a new era to the collapse of the Empire's political power. The decline occurred during the reign of Ardashīr I (c. 224–240 A.D.), the Sasanian king, who conquered Kaniṣka II, the last great Kuṣāṇa Emperor. By the time of Ardashīr's son Shāpūr I, a chunk of Gandhāra, up to Peshawar no longer belonged to the Kuṣāṇa kings. The date of the founding of Kaniṣka's era has been proposed by Harry Falk in his recent analysis of a passage in an astronomical text (the *Yavanajātaka*), linking the Kuṣāṇa era to the known Śaka era.[7] This linkage enabled Falk to determine that the era should begin with the year 127 A.D. Finally, we are in a position

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[6] A selective mapping of regional sources for raw materials is now available. See John Onians, ed., *The Atlas of World Art* (Oxford, 2004). Relevant maps are: Central Asia—500 B.C.–600 A.D.; South Asia 500 B.C.–600 A.D.

[7] Harry Falk, "The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121–136. Harry Falk, "The Kaniṣka era in Gupta records", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 10 (2004), 167–176.

to consider a probable chronological timespan for Kuṣāṇa art. It is equated with the dating of the Empire: from the second quarter of the second century A.D. to c. the mid-3rd century A.D., possibly extending in influence even through to the 4th century, that is, until the rise of the Gupta art in the Gangetic plains; in the north post-Kuṣāṇa art prevailed longer. This period saw extraordinary artistic accomplishments, which is why a monograph on 'Kuṣāṇa Art' is such a high desideratum.

During the Kuṣāṇa age, more than a religious iconography was devised. Rather, a religious language was hammered together and fitted unto art forms with such vigour and cultural validity that it prevailed over considerable time and space. I will cite two examples from my own research to illustrate the seminal role of the visual language constructed during this age:

1) An 18th century miniature painting stemming from Kangra, a former Hill State in the Panjab Hills depicts the Hindu god Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma seated on a dais with a mass of serpents spreading in all directions over his crown.[8] The association of snakes does not surprise since this attribute is associated with the god since the Kuṣāṇa Period. But in the miniature, a raised ground, like a hill or a mound, has been added; in effect, the god's head-gear is composed of a crown and writhing snakes beneath a hillock. The hillock converts the depiction into a unique representation of Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. The rationale and significance of the addition is, however, explainable if the cultural art historian links the snakes and hillock in the Kangra painting to current Mathurā/Braj folk beliefs which have their antecedents in the ancient literature and in art. Already Pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma in the Mathurā and Sāñchī areas connect the god with a mound and a snake. The connection rests on linking folk beliefs about a Snake King (Nāgarāja) underlying a hillock to incipient notions of Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma.
2) Turning to Buddhist art, we can trace Māyā's depiction at the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa in Central and East Asian art back to

[8] Doris M. Srinivasan, "Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma and The Mountain: A New Attribute," Section on Archaeology of Religion: Issues in Hindu and Buddhist Iconography; ed. Claudine Bautze-Picron in *Proceedings of the 18th Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists 2005*, Gen. Ed. Michael Willis (London), 2007 forthcoming.

innovations made in Gandhāra during the Kuṣāṇa Period. It had long been presumed that Māyā was not depicted in Gandhāran versions of the Parinirvāṇa. The trouble with this assumption is that scholars were not looking for Gandhāran depictions which could themselves be under the influence of earlier and foreign imagery. Once this possiblity is introduced, it becomes evident that indeed two different motifs from Roman and Parthian funerary art served Gandhāran artists as visual models. The first renders Māyā at the scene in a leafy medallion;[9] the second positions her seated beside her son's deathbed.[10] Both motifs had impact further east.

I have chosen these two examples not only to demonstrate the far-reaching influence of Kuṣāṇa art, but also to show that a knowledge of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art greatly helps to decode the visual language employed by artists in the Kuṣāṇa realm. As fundamental research into the nature of the Kuṣāṇa corpus continues, and while historical aspects are still under considerable debate, this is the right time to open discourse on Pre-Kuṣāṇa art as it will undoubtedly aid towards an understanding and interpretation of Kuṣāṇa art.

What is meant by Pre-Kuṣāṇa art? Though we are using a dynastic (or, better, a pre-dynastic) label, it needs to be stressed that this is not an art made predominantly of or for pre-dynastic rulers nor is it necessarily about their religious beliefs. Made by various peoples, Pre-Kuṣāṇa art is the artistic production resulting from historical circumstances set into motion by those who would become the Kuṣāṇa rulers.

During the first century A.D., a powerful group of five tribes who had begun to dominate Central Asia and Afghanistan assumed the name 'Kuṣāṇa' while under the leadership of Kujūla Kadphises, chief of one of these tribes and associated with the epithet 'Kuṣāṇa'. Prior, the nomadic group known collectively as the Yuezhi/Yüeh-chih, was divided into five tribes (i.e. *xihou/yabgu* or govenor-generalships), each under a chief. When Kujūla gained victory over the other four *yabgu*,

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[9] Doris M. Srinivasan, "From Roman *Clipeata Imago* to Gandhāran Image Medallion and the Embellishment of the Parinirvāṇa Legend," in *Architetti, Capomastri, Artigiani; L'Organizzazione dei cantieri e della produzione artistica nell'Asia ellenistica*. A Festschrift for Domenico Faccenna on his eightieth birthday. Gen. Ed. Pierfrancesco Callieri, (IsIAO, Rome, 2006), 247–269.

[10] "Māyā in Parinirvāṇa Imagery: II. Gandhāran, Central Asian and East Asian Connections, *Life of the Buddha*, ed. Sonya Quintanilla, Forthcoming.

he, in effect, laid the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa Empire, which reached its zenith by the time of Kaniṣka I. For over a decade, we have known the Kuṣāṇa rulers leading up to Kaniṣka. In 1993 a Bactrian inscription was discovered at the Kuṣāṇa site of Rabatak, Afghanistan, which lists four generations of Kuṣāṇas beginning with Kujūla and ending with Kaniṣka I. This important discovery and the exceptional scholarship it triggered[11] established the genealogy of the Great Kuṣāṇas, if not their precise chronology. This is a useful benchmark for the art historian. However the relative timeframe for Pre-Kuṣāṇa art needs to include more than the time between Kujūla and Kaniṣka. Pertinent artistic remains crop up all along the migratory route of the Yuezhi and the displacement routes of peoples dispersed or conquered as a result of the Yuezhi's movements towards the subcontinent and towards the establishment of their eventual Empire.

Yuezhi migrations appear to start from their original home in the western part of Gansu Province in China and move westerly so that sometime in the latter half of the second century B.C. they occupied Sogdiana (the land southeast of the Aral Sea, between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya Rivers). Subsequently, they took control of Bactria, located for the most part in present day Afghanistan. As for the Graeco-Bactrians whose kingdom had been overthrown, they were driven into lands further southeast during the second-first century B.C. In consequent, an understanding of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art best begins with Bactrian art and coinage since the Graeco-Bactrians and the craftsmen who served them moved south of the Hindu Kush and influenced art in lands that would eventually become part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. (South of the Hindu Kush they are referred to as Indo-Greeks). The timeframe used in this volume, therefore, begins with art made in Bactria, under the Graeco-Bactrians (mid third to mid second century B.C.) and terminates circa mid second century A.D., that is, with art dating to the establishment of Kaniṣka's era, quite likely in 127 A.D. Art dating from the time of Kuṣāṇa unification, under Kujūla, to 127 A.D. can also be referred to, below, as early

[11] Nicholas Sims-Williams & Joe Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995/96): 75–142; Gérard Fussman, "L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ére Saka," *Journal Asiatique* (1998): 571–651; David W. Mac Dowall, "The Rabatak Inscription and the Nameless Kushan King," in *Cairo to Kabul. Afghan and Islamic Studies presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, (London, 2002): 163–169.

Kuṣāṇa art. David W. Mac Dowall's paper in this volume "Numismatic evidence for a chronological framework for Pre-Kaniṣkan art, from Kalchayan to Gandhāra", using pertinent information from coinage, proposes both relative and absolute datings for the regnal years during this timespan.

The Yuezhi, although nomadic, did not arrive in Bactria estranged from artistic sensibilities. Some scholars have associated them with the Scytho-Siberian culture, although the Chinese sources do not permit their exact ethnological identification. This culture is associated with a vibrant form of nomadic art, at times termed 'the animal style art'. In the course of their push westward, which came to a temporary halt in Bactria, the Yuezhi made contact with other nomadic people in Central Asia. Indeed, their own migrations across the Mongolian plains and Central Asia were due to pressure from other nomadic tribes. Understandably, a nomadic component, cited in some of the papers, filters into Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. For example, a c. 4th century B.C. golden armlet, from Central Asia or Siberia shows contorted felines with heads raised and depicted as if seen from above. A nearly identical armlet, though dated later, was found in the Northwest of the subcontinent. The heads of fantastic creatures on a perforated ornamental plaque likewise are seen from this perspective; the plaque is tentatively dated c. 2nd century B.C., possibly placed in the Bacrtian region, and perhaps traced to the Yuezhi.[12] The perspective, sometimes called the "bird's eye view" is characteristic of animal style art. It reappers in an early Kuṣāṇa relief from Mathurā wherein the Warrior Goddess is struggling with the buffalo, whose head is depicted as if seen from above.[13]

By the first century B.C., Scythian tribes known as the Śakas, having been displaced by the wandering Yuezhi, entered the Northwest by various routes. Some settled in Gandhāra, displacing the Indo-Greeks there, although some minor Indo-Greeks may still have wielded authority in parts of southern Bactria. Śakas, however, seem mainly

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[12] See Bopearachchi 2003, # 141. The piece is not associated with an archaeological context, and although the 'Bibliographie' cites E.C. Bunker et al. 1997, the piece is not found in that work, perhaps not in the other citations as well.

[13] For details on this and other Animal Style features in Kuṣāṇa Art including the gold armlet, see Doris Meth Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes*. Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997), 301–302.

to have controlled southern Bactria, while the Yuezhi were in northern Bactria. This changed around 100 years after the Yuezhi moved into Bactria when, under Kujūla, the Kuṣāṇas made forays into the Northwest of the subcontinent and in the 1st century A.D. extended their power throughout Gandhāra where more than 2,500 coins of Kujūla were found at Sirkap, Taxila. As these nomadic people migrated, they came into conflict with the Parthians, whose leadership itself looked back to nomadic Iranian beginnings. The Parthians, during the first half of the 1st century A.D., took over parts of Gandhāra from the Śakas and ruled as far as Taxila, which is in Pakistan today.

The Parthians were a dominant force in areas of Iran and Mesopotamia which had previously been part of the Seleucid Empire. As such, they absorbed not only Near Eastern and Greek art traditions, but as neighbors, traders and rivals of Rome after 64 B.C., the Parthians brought a wide range of artistic exposures to lands in which they had a presence. Their famous ruler, Gondophares, established rule in Gandhāra from c. 19–45 A.D. According to recent research by Harry Falk,[14] Gondophares likely arose from a family once in the service of Vonones, associated in some way with the imperial Arsacid family in Iran, but which had been absorbed into the Indo-Scythian rule under Azes. This finding, based on inscriptional evidence, establishes that Gondophares came from a royal house which was in the Northwest several decades before Gondophares became king. If this finding is accepted, there would have been no invasion and destabilization, but rather a return to power of a family from the region which had connections to the previous Indo-Scythian rule. This hypothesis would eliminate the notion of an Indo-Parthian conquest and posit instead an apparent continuity, demonstrated for example by the issuance of coin types and retention of an era. For the art historian this possibility is exciting. It suggests artistic patronage may have been less disruptive than previously thought and political stability, artistic patronage and continuity greater. Influences circulating in this vast region would be more apt to reinforce each other than to operate fortuitously. Classical traditions

[14] Harry Falk, "Three inscribed Buddhist monastic utensils from Gandhāra," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156 (2006): In Press.

introduced by Indo-Greeks could be seen as continuing to find some receptivity through to c. 50 A.D. in part, since art from Parthia was also profoundly Hellenized and receptive to Roman innovations. Further, the stylistic intensity of nomadic art rendered in animal and ethnic types need find little disruption from ruling patrons—be they Indo-Scythians, or Indo-Parthians, or, the incoming Kuṣāṇas. For, from circa the mid-1st century A.D. onward, the whole region from Central Asia, through Gandhāra to northern India becomes welded under the conquests of the Kuṣāṇas.

Northern India, particularly Mathurā, was already linked to the political developments of the Panjab by the middle of the 1st century B.C. Several foreign princes preceded the Kuṣāṇas as rulers of Mathurā. Chief among these is Rājūvula, who as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, issued coins in the Panjab and Jammu area. At Mathurā, Mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula issued coins unlike those he issued in the Northwest. At Mathurā he followed local tradition. The Hindu goddess Lakṣmī stood above a *svastika* on the obverse of his coins, and on the reverse he adopted the *Abhiṣeka* Lakṣmī motif. His son, Śoḍāsa, continued to use the same local types on his coins. This tendency to respect local tradition should be kept in mind when we consider the characteristics that might appear in Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. Some invaders were not inclined to disturb aspects of the indigenous culture, especially pronounced in the Gangetic region; other invaders brought artistic expressions that could be assimilated because the seeds had already been planted, especially in the northwestern region. Therefore, although our timeframe represents a period of considerable political flux, stife and conquest by foreign invasions into the subcontinent, this period did not create a 'dark age' or an upheaval of artistic endeavors. Were this not so, my examples of foreign forerunners for a Gandhāran Māyā at the Parinirvāṇa and a Pre-Kuṣāṇa Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma with attributes anticipated in a Kangra painting would be unlikely.

This brief overview of the main historical circumstances initiated by the migratory Yuezhi/early Kuṣāṇas illustrates how wide the art historian must cast the net in order to catch essential components of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. As in the case of Rome, Pre-Kuṣāṇa art includes not only the art of the lands the Yuezhi/early Kuṣāṇas occupied, but also the art of the regions affected by the consequences of their territorial acquisitions. As a result, it is possible that Pre-Kuṣāṇa art could attribute different shades of meaning to similar forms within

the same religion, or associate different forms to a deity within the same religion depending upon where in the region the art is made.[15] For even if people, in the vast Pre-Kuṣāṇa World, ascribed to similar religious phenomena, they may have spoken different languages, used different religious texts, performed rituals in various ways, being guided by spiritual preceptors who differed on important ecclesiatic matters.

At this stage, it is not possible to offer a tight working definition of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. I can, at best, offer a "waves theory" made up of components whose presence and influence vacillate in Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. Sometimes these components may be dominant, sometimes recessive/weak or absent. There may be others to add to those listed below which respond to changing political, economic, religious, migratory and artistic activities between c. 3rd/2nd centuries B.C. to the mid-2nd century A.D., from western China through Gangetic India, and which define the nature of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art:

1. A Chinese component: This factor is being noticed, for example, in some Tillya Tepe pieces, in the weaponry on the Orlat bone plates, and in some early Begram bone and ivory pieces. This factor needs greater exploration considering that the Yuezhi's contact with China did not end when they left the area between Dunhuang and the Qilian Mountains. Not only were the Yuezhi in contact with the Chinese during their westerly migration, but they gave assistance to Chinese exploits during the 1st century A.D.[16]
2. A nomadic art component: The influence of nomadic art can be expected, as already observed, in choice of themes, animal gear and personal adornments, as well as in stylistic configurations, especially in Central Asia.
3. Active local traditions in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World: There were local, artistic traditions present in regions of Central Asia ready to receive and meld with the artistry brought by the Yuezhi. The research

[15] In Kuṣāṇa art, this is true for images of Śiva; see Srinivasan, *Many Heads*, Chapter 19, especially pages 267–271.

[16] For a full account of the Kuṣāṇas in Chinese sources, see François Thierry, "Yuezhi et Kouchans. Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises", *Afghanistan. Ancien Carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, gen. eds. Osmund Bopearachchi et Marie-Françoise Boussac (Turnhout, 2005), 421–539. Sir John Boardman has recently written two provocative articles on foreign influences seen in the art of Tillya Tepe. See his "The Tillya Tepe Gold: A Closer Look," *Ancient West and East*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2003–a): 349–373. For Chinese influences see his "Three Monsters at Tillya Tepe," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 9, 1–2 (2003–b), 133–146.

of L. Nehru recognizes that in addition to Classical Greek art in Bactria, an influencing role was played by the local arts in Bactria and Central Asia, so that with the advent of the Yuezhi at Kalchayan, a Pre-Kuṣāṇa site in Central Asia, a blending of local, nomadic and Hellenistic expressions occurred there. The site of Aï Khanoum also has a local component. The extent of local arts and crafts in Gandhāra needs much greater investigation. After all, local crafts are depicted in Kuṣāṇa art and ought, therefore, to have had prior existence. Indeed, the established expertise of local craftsmen in the textile and woodcarving traditions could well have promoted the freedom to experiment with incoming foreign influences, allowing, for example, the introduction of Parthian textile designs and Roman furniture designs to become part of the output from local workshops.[17] Quite possibly master Gandhāran carvers arose from these local craft shops. The extent to which Mathurā craftsmen were employed in the Northwest also needs to be considered since the workshops at Mathurā and Post-Śuṅga sites had more practice in stone carving techniques.

4. The Buddhist component: The scarcity of Pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist art is to be anticipated during the time the Yuezhi/early Kuṣāṇas were on the north side of the Hindu Kush Mountains. However after the Kuṣāṇas crossed the Hindu Kush, growth in the production of Buddhist art and architecture is well recorded. Buddhism, introduced into the Northwest by Aśoka, in the mid third century B.C., continued to expand when a ruler allowed it to do so.[18] As noted by Fussman, the Kuṣāṇas established their power in areas where Buddhism was already implanted. Probably due to their nomadic heritage (more on this below), they hesitated to rupture established customs in the territories they conquered. It is believed the Kuṣāṇas followed the Iranian religion called

[17] Doris Meth Srinivasan, "Gandharan Textiles: A Local Craft with a Western Connection," in *Gandharan Art in Context*, eds. Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin, Neil Kreitman, Elizabeth Errington (Cambridge, 1997), 95–117. Martina Stoye, "Der Dreifuss in Gandhārischen Szenen vom Ersten Bad des Siddhārtha Gautama—Überlegungen zu Herkunft und Bedeutung eines Visuellen Zitats", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. LXIV, No. 2 (2004), 141–176; Abdur Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat: First preliminary Excavation Report", *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. VIII (1993), see Plates XLVII a + b and XLVIII a + b.

[18] Gérard Fussman, "Le progression du bouddhisme dans l'Inde du nord-ouest", *Cours et travaux du Collège de France* (Résumés 2003–2004), 930.

Zoroastrianism, although the Goddess Nanā, the first deity mentioned in the Rabatak inscription and whom Kaniṣka believed invested him and his ancestors with the power to rule, is not a Zoroastrian divinity. Since some of the divinities in this inscription appear on Kuṣāṇa coinage, the possibility of their iconographic influence in the art is, of course, to be registered.[19]

5. The Parthian component: Influence of the Parthians goes well beyond their limited political presence in Gandhāra. The Parthians, as already mentioned, were the conduit for the arts of several major civilizations into the Northwest. In addition, they had their own art, examples of which could have come via trade and occupation. Parthian components—e.g. frontal representation, wide open eyes, patterned, wig-like hair treatment, etc.—entered into Pre-Kuṣāṇa art (see Faccenna's Figs. 14, 17) and effected Gandhāran sculpture.[20]
6. The Hindu and Brahmanic components: Besides Buddhism, it may be anticipated that the incoming Kuṣāṇas retained other cultural phenomena, the most pervasive in the subcontinent being the Brahmanic culture. It is not often recognized that precisely within our timeframe (i.e. 3rd/2nd centuries B.C.–2nd century A.D.), the Brahmanic treatise on social and religious duties, the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* II. 17–20), considers the region extending from northern India to eastern Pakistan today as "Brahmāvarta". This was the most holy land having inhabitants of the most virtuous conduct; the Doab, as far down as Mathurā, an ancient stronghold of Brahmanism, ranked but second to Brahmāvarta. Brahmanic and early Hindu tenets can be expected not only in the Doab, but in a region which included some of Northwest. Probably these tenets were maintained, throughout, by the Kuṣāṇas.[21]
7. The Classical component: In the present volume, the paper by the archaeologist Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Barikot: An Indo-Greek Urban Center in Gandhāra" provides evidence for "workshops

[19] E.g., see Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995/96.

[20] Lolita Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style* (Delhi, 1989), 38–48. Chantal Fabrègues, "The Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhara Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. Vol. I (1987): 33–43. Some of the works of K. Tanabe also consider this subject.

[21] This situation may help to explain the different *śaiva* iconographies: see Endnote 15.

and craftsmen of Hellenistic tradition active in the Northwest." Historical background that could buttress the presence of workshops training craftsmen in the classical tradition has already been alluded to. Buddhist scupltures from Gandhāra mentioned in the contributions of Osmund Bopearachchi and Richard Salomon in this volume may also support this finding. Ultimately, the subcontinent's readiness in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa Period to fashion icons is due to both internal and external factors, the latter undoubtedly stimulated, in part, by the Classical component.

8. The Pan-India component: The extraodinary achievements in devising an iconographic language during the Kuṣāṇa Period, mentioned above, rested on basic innovations made in the region below the Panjab and above the Narmada. Northern India, especially around Mathurā and in areas of Madhya Pradesh, had already major creative centers during Pre-Kuṣāṇa times. This region concretized religious beliefs into the viable forms which Pan-India could recognize and accept as being fit for worship. Contact between India and Gandhāra, and even Central Asia, prior to the establishment of the Empire has been touched upon above; more on this below. Cultural exchanges in Pre- and Kuṣāṇa times are, of course, a major factor in the formation of a widely accepted devotional art. How else can one explain some similarity in folk imagery, in formulaic depictions of some Hindu cosmic deities and some Buddhist narratives and monumental architecture occurring at both Mathurā and Gandhāra?

These eight components highlight some of the major trends within Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. Diversity certainly did not begin with the beginning of Kuṣāṇa art!

The aim of this volume is to initiate a process which will advance the scope and definition of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art so that a synthesis of Kuṣāṇa art may be furthered. No doubt, that makes this volume problem-oriented, specifically towards solving problems in the domain of art history. However, art is not the only focus of this volume. Scope and definition require that the artistic remains are first and foremost contextualized, and if, in that process, notions on style and iconography get clarified, so much the better. The focal point therefore is not the construction of a consistent narrative for Pre-Kuṣāṇa art. Rather it is to gather Pre-Kuṣāṇa material essential for an understanding of Kuṣāṇa art. The aim thus duplicates the aim of a

symposium I organized in which nearly all the papers in this volume were first presented.

From November 8–11, 2000, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, hosted the Symposium "On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushan World". The purpose of the meeting was to begin a debate on the role of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art and culture in the subsequent Kuṣāṇa art. By way of papers dealing with Archaeology, Numismatics, History, Epigraphy, Art History, Archaeometry and Interconnections in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa world, a multidisciplinary approach, not used previously in this domain, addressed some of the issues. The papers in the volume are ordered according to chronological and directional migrations from Central Asia through to Gandhāra and on to the Gangetic region, beginning with papers on actual migratory routes. The volume opens debate in this area of research, brings focus, guidelines and new ideas to the topic, but does not yet provide a complete definition of Pre-Kuṣāṇa art.

Although much of my initial remarks have dwelt on the complexities involved, I believe in time a definition can be realized. Already scientifically secure contexts for Pre-Kuṣāṇa art can be cited, as well as methodologies to provide further contextualizations. Within our dating brackets and pertinent geographic zones, there are excavated sites revealing Pre-Kuṣāṇa art and data in stratified levels. Among the most important excavations are Aï Khanoum, Tillya Tepe, Kalchayan, Barikot, Butkara and Saidu Sharif, Taxila and Sonkh.

Aï Khanoum is a Graeco-Bactrian site north of the Hindu Kush providing the best evidence, to date, of what cultural characteristcs may be found in a Hellenistic city founded in Bactria. Discovered in northeastern Afghanistan and excavated between 1965–1978 by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, the remains show several idiosyncratic Greek architectural and artistic features strongly suggesting the presence of a Graeco-Bactrian population there. Highlights of the Hellenistic evidence is provided in Osmund Bopearachchi's paper "Acroliths from Bactria and Gandhāra". The paper establishes the context and also the interpretation of a monumental Gandhāran marble head found in the vicinity of Peshawar. The find is related to remains of probable acroliths in Aï Khanoum, to the existence of such statues in ancient Greece and Rome, to the

mention of acroliths in classical literature, and importantly, to local ingenuity and originality in expressing the classical influence. The date of the Peshawar head, however, is still an open question.

Tillya Tepe, a necropolis in northwestern Afghanistan, dated by associated coin finds and paleography to the 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.,[22] helps to fill a gap in our knowledge of circumstances prevailing in northern Bactria after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and before the rise of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Excavated jointly by the Soviets and Afghans during 1978–1979, six graves containing some 20,000 "turquoise gold" objects of extraordinary verve, workmanship and variety were found. The funerary objects were probably made for the Yuezhi/early Kuṣāṇas in Central Asia[23] prior to their encounter with Buddhism. Much of the treasure, which may date to around the mid 1st century A.D., could, according to Boardman, be the product of a single workshop whose artists were able to weld together and reinterpret subject matter and iconographic influences from nomadic, Graeco-Bactrian and ancient, local Bactrian traditions. There are also imported items, notably Chinese mirrors, so it does not surprise that a Chinese influence can also be detected in some of the Tillya Tepe grave goods. More surprising is a link to the south, to India, that can be detected in some of the forms and details.[24]

The dating of the site of Kalchayan is still controversial. Located on the right bank of the Sukhan Darya River, 10 km north of the town of Denu in present day Uzbekistan, Kalchayan can provide some background for figural developments in Gandhāran sculpture, farther south. The settlement, begun prior to the coming of the Yuezhi, seems to have experienced more urban development with their arrival. The main Kalchayan edifice, possibly dating to the time of Kujūla Kadphises, is a Pre-Kuṣāṇa dynastic structure perhaps a bit later than the Tillya Tepe necropolis, but roughly contemporaneous with it. Sculptures in clay and fragments of mural paintings coming

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[22] Evgeny V. Zeymal, "Tillya Tepe within the Context of the Kushan Chronology," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology*, eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Wien, 1999), 239–244. Edward V. Rtveladze, "Coins of the Yuezhi Rulers of Northern Bacrtia," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993/94): 81–96.

[23] Boardman 2003a, 349; V.I. Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold* (Leningrad, 1985). Rtveladze 1993/94: 92–93. But G.A. Pugachenkova and L. Rempel think the graves belonged to the Śakas. See Pugachenkova and Rempel, "Gold from Tilla-tepe", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 5 (1991): 11–25; so also Jason Neelis in this volume.

[24] Boardman 2003a.

from this structure represent family members of the ruling clan. The familial connection can be traced in the clay faces. Features are rendered with keen realism conveying, what L. Nehru suggests, is a local, nomadic interest in ethnicity.[25] The stylistic emphasis on realism combines with long-standing Persian and Greek influences. The Hellenistic model also surfaces in the sculptural form of Hercules which follows "Classical Greek norms."[26] To judge by the frequency of his appearance in art and on coins, the Greek hero was extremely popular in the Classical World and his image was widely diffused through routes going via Egypt and Asia Minor. The classical model in the guise of Hercules is found, albeit transfigured, in a c. 3rd century B.C. relief in the Crimea,[27] at Aï Khanoum, Khalchayan, in Pre-Kuṣāṇa narrative reliefs in the Northwest at Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I,[28] in a Gandhāran weight stone (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. 1994.112) and in the Gangetic Valley at Mathurā where the large Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Hercules and the Nemean Lion was carved (Indian Museum, Calcutta). The combination of influences seen in Kalchayan's sculpture is likewise evident in Kalchayan's terracotta firing technique. Vivdenko discerns a technique peculiar to Kalchayan developed according to local traditions, though she also detects Greek and Indian influences here and at the site of Dalverzin.[29] The reoccurrence of an Indian input underscores the probability of contacts between North and South already existing during the period when the Yuezhi expanded into the early Kuṣāṇas.

Moving from northern Bactria to sites below the Hindu Kush, we find Barikot a major site with Pre-Kuṣāṇa levels located in the center of Pakistan's Swat Valley. The director of this Italian Archaeological Mission excavation in Swat, Pierfrancesco Callieri, whose paper in the volume has already been mentioned, dates the stratigraphie levels from the second century B.C. through the mid-first century A.D. In

[25] Lolita Nehru, "Khalchayan Revisited", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6 (1999/2000): 217–239.

[26] Nehru 1999/2000: 230.

[27] E.A. Popova and S.A. Kovalenko, "New Find of a relief with a Depiction of Heracles in the North-West of the Crimea," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 5.2 (1998): 99–105.

[28] Maurizio Taddei, "On a Hellenistic Model Used in Some Gandharan Reliefs in Swat," *East and West*, Vol. 15 (1964–1965): 174–180.

[29] Svetlana V. Vivdenko, "A Technological Examination of the Plastic Art of North Bactria in the Kushan Period", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993/94) 143–155.

effect, the artistic remains from the ancient town of Barikot, seem to represent Graeco-Bactrian penetration farther south in the Indo-Greek settlement. The author eschews the model of 'blending' Hellenistic influences with nomadic, local traditions (as at Kalchayan) in explaining the material output. Instead, he proposes evidence for the direct transmission of the Hellenistic tradition in connection with the shapes, models and styles discovered at this site. This is an extremely useful hypothesis for understanding Pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist sculpture, for example, in Swat and at Taxila.

With the excavations of stūpas at Butkara and Saidu Sharif, also in the Swat Valley and containing early phases that overlap and post-date Barikot, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan is in a position to propose what happened to the Hellenistic tradition when called into the service of Gandhāran art. Both *stūpas* have architectural and sculptural remains dating to the first half of the first century A.D., that is, during the Śaka and Parthian Periods in the Swat Valley prior to Kuṣāṇa times. By combining and comparing the output from both sites in his paper "The Artistic Center of Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa Period", Domenico Faccenna, who directed the Butkara excavation, is able to discern artistic developments within a large Pre-Kuṣāṇa corpus. The author notes that several Butkara I architectural and decorative features, some also seen at Taxila, recall western precedents, and that a sculptural style may show both Indian and western influences as it emphasizes the drawing line over somewhat flattened figural volumes. Local creativity is also active; local craftsmen put their own stamp on some of those outside influences. The result, especially with the invention of a compositional format for narrative art, can be impressive.

The high level of craftmanship exhibiting local talent capable of integrating different influences is all the more remarkable since this period witnessed a monetary crisis, referred to as the 'Great Debasement'. We know that towards the end of the reign of the Indo-Scythian king Azes II, the silver currency of the Scythians was abruptly debased in weight and purity. How could large religious monuments be built during an economically difficult time? Then too, what forces operated so that a life-size Buddha image sculpted in an accomplished Classical style could arise from the Śaka cultural sphere in Gandhāra at this time? The paper of Richard Salomon, "Dynastic and Institutional Connections in the Pre- and Early Kuṣāṇa Period: New Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence" describes the brisk local patronage of Buddhism during the decades around the Christian era and permits

the reader to ask the latter question. The paper details local Indo-Scythian rulers connected to the house of Azes who patronized Buddhist art and culture in and around the regions of Bajaur and Swat in modern northwestern Pakistan; possibly they even extended their power to the area of Haḍḍa in what is now Afghanistan. Of particular interest to art historians is that an inscription on the halo of a Gandhāran (so-called Aśo-raya) Buddha can be pulled into the cultural sphere associated with these times and regions. In light of the artistic trends outlined above, especially those leading from Central Asia to Barikot, I find a 1st century A.D. date for this inscribed Buddha quite possible. However further comparative analysis is needed because a 1st century date would significantly alter current assumptions on the development of Buddhist imagery in Gandhāra.

As to what forces propelled the making of impressive religious art during periods of economic stress, the contribution from Gregory Schopen entitled "Art, Beauty and the Business of Running a Buddhist Monastery in Early Northwest India" gives us a response we haven't heard before. It comes from a Buddhist text that Schopen is able to place into the world of Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa Northwest India. Passages from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* mention monasteries located in beautiful settings with beautiful monastic art such as wall and cloth paintings and images; even a specific type, the image of the Bodhisattva's first meditation is mentioned in the text. Interestingly, several statues of this event actually come from the Kuṣāṇa site of Sahrī-Bāhlol in Gandhāra. Evidently, the redactors of this monastic Code lived in the Northwest during this early period and were quite concerned with securing funds that would ensure the continued operation of their religious institutions. Their wish to beautify—through art and nature—was meant to attract not only pilgrims to a monastery but also potential donors who would be inspired in such surroundings to open their purses in addition to their hearts. Could this striving result, in part, from the uncertain economic conditions of the time, or is this a motivation on par with the didactic one, usually considered the prime function of early Buddhist art? Buried within the papers by Schopen and Salomon is the call for a stylistic comparison between the two large standing Sahrī-Bāhlol Buddha images[30]

[30] E.g. see Francine Tissot, "The Site of Sahrī-Bāhlol in Gandhāra (Part III)," *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, eds. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri (Rome, 1990), especially 744–750 plus illustrations.

and Salomon's 'Aśo-raya' Buddha in order to gather stylistic criteria for dating Pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist images.

A Pre-Kuṣāṇa phase can be found at Taxila, the most extensively excavated and documented early historic site in South Asia. Yet the recognized problem with this site is the imprecisions associated with Sir John Marshall's excavations and final report, difficulties which have not been resolved by subsequent diggings and surveys. Given that scholars, such as Raymond Allchin, consider Marshall's observations regarding the masonry developments of the various strata of Taxila's settlements as "generally consistent",[31] the possiblity may exist (at Taxila, though not necessarily at other Gandhāran sites), that an internal, self-contained analysis of building techniques could contexualize and date associated objects. Such a probe is the subject of Shoshin Kuwayama's paper "Kañjūr Ashlar and Diaper Masonry: Two Building Phases in Taxila of the First Century A.D." A group of stucco heads was found in association with structures in the courtyard of the Apsidal Temple, in Taxila's Pre-Kuṣāṇa city of Sirkap. The heads were found amidst *kañjūr* blocks of stone used for the facing of the structures, which may or may not be Buddhist. Kuwayama believes that the heads belong to the Apsidal Temple which was built of diaper stonework; thus the heads probably date to the time of Kujūla Kadphises. That makes them roughly comparable to the early sculptures discussed by Faccenna and possibly to the Kalchayan material. I believe it is useful, methodologically, to compare the stone heads from Butkara I (Group I) and Saidu Sharif in Swat with the stucco heads from Sirkap, Taxila in the Panjab because their differences are rather striking. The Panjabi stucco heads are roundish, jowly, relaxed, fleshy and smiling (except for the two bearded ones, suggestive of foreign prototypes), whereas the Swati stone faces are more oval, usually with prominent square jaws, moustache, angular features, and intense expressions. The differences in their appearance seems to reflect different people possibly belonging to different ethnic or tribal affiliations. Just as some of the faces from Kalchayan reflect specific ethnic types so too, I suggest, do some in Gandhāra.

[31] F.R. Allchin, "Archaeology and the Date of Kaniṣka: The Taxila Evidence," *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham (Leiden, 1968), 17. Allchin continues: "Wherever it has been possible to check them against other criteria we have found them correct."

The prominence of folk beliefs comes to the fore further south, at the site of Sonkh, 22 km southwest of Mathurā City, U.P. India. Excavations at Sonkh were undertaken between 1966 and 1974 by the Archaeological Mission of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, under the direction of Herbert Härtel. His posthumous paper "Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Early Kuṣāṇa Levels at Sonkh," both summarizes and interprets data that is appropriate for the aim of this volume. In following the author's exposition, it becomes clear that the most significant remains spanning at least two hundred years—from the period of the local rulers to the appearance of the Kuṣāṇas at Mathurā—was infused with pan-Indic features. Terracotta art of the Mitra period indicates the popularity of folk religions concentrating on the worship of Yakṣas, Yakṣinīs, Nāgas and Nāginīs; also there is some evidence of an apsidal temple devoted to Nāga worship. This temple continues and indeed flourishes in the early Kuṣāṇa Period. The subsequent Kṣatrapa period features remains of the Warrior Goddess and Mother Goddesses which continue into the early Kuṣāṇa period, together with examples of Yakṣas, Nāgas, Kubera, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Skanda, in addition to pan-Indic symbols on sculpture and pottery. In sum, figural representations relate mainly, but not always, to the worship of local deities. The main exception I see is the Warrior Goddess (who cannot yet be identified as the Hindu Mahiṣāsuramardinī or Durgā in any Pre-Kuṣāṇa-Kuṣāṇa text or inscription that I am aware of).[32] The Warrior Goddess seems to have precedents in the Near Eastern goddess Nanā, who herself takes on characteristics of the Mesopotamian goddess Innana-Ishtar. Thus, Sonkh's Pre-Kuṣāṇa to early Kuṣāṇa assemblage falls mainly into two categories: those deities stemming from local cults and those deities glorifying heroes (*vīras*) and warriors, some of whom may be local.

This survey, coming from selected excavations below the Hindu Kush, begins to expose progressive indigenous involvement amidst an abiding Greek tradition ostensibly maintained by descendents of Graeco-Bactrians themselves or adopted by local craftsmen trained in that tradition. Swati craftsmen at Butkara and Saidu Sharif are

[32] Not so Madhuvanti Ghose in her otherwise very interesting treatment of this goddess in *The Origins and Early Development of Anthropomorphic Indian Iconography* (Unpublished PhD thesis; SOAS, London 2003), 146–158. Ghose continues to call the Kuṣāṇa goddess Durgā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

devising features seen in Gandhāran art; Sirkap seems to give some evidence for incorporating local (Panjabi) physionomies in figural representations; Sonkh, in thrall of the local Mathurā School of art, manifests Pan-Indic symbolism and deities legitimized in local cults or adapted to them (as in the hero/warrior example). In addition, an important possibility arises: artisans trained and working from within the Hellenic tradition may have been involved in conceiving early Buddha images rendered according to mature Classical norms. These tendencies could be anticipated from some of the events north of the Hindu Kush; nevertheless it is elegant to observe their emergence.

These tendencies which forecast aspects of Kuṣāṇa art can be considered with principal coins types circulating in roughly similar areas. The paper of David W. Mac Dowall "Coinage from Iran to Gandhāra" maps the divinities on coins of rulers, starting with the Graeco-Bactrians through the Indo-Parthians; as such, coins from the Mathurā region, and early Kuṣāṇas are not considered herein. It must also be kept in mind, as Mac Dowall cautions, "that coinage is the prerogative of the government of the day", whereas the art and architecture cited above from Swat through to Sonkh are not as directly related to the perogative of a government. Therefore an overlap of divine categories or types on coinage and in art ought to have some broad cultural importance. As may be expected, Greek divinities on coins predominate in Bactria and continue to occur on denominations south of the Hindu Kush, though a few experimental issues feature Indian figures, the most notable being the brothers Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on Agathocles' silver coins. Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma is a complex god who derives his power not only from the chthonic realm (as mentioned earlier in this essay), but also from his leadership position as a clan hero (*vīra*). In addition, Agathocles portrays the Indian Subhadrā or Yakṣī on his coppers. Again Greek deities dominate on Indo-Scythian coinage, although some may be syncretic deities related to both Indian or Iranian divinities. It is interesting to note that Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī appears on coins of the Indo-Scythian king Azilises, reminding of her occurrence on the Mathurā issue of Rājūvula. And again Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma reoccurs on the coppers of Maues, the earliest Indo-Scythian king. Dispensing with the conservative Indo-Parthians whose output is deemed to be non-innovative, one type often appearing on both coins and in art is the conquering hero. This figure had great appeal and legitimacy for many different cultures throughout the Pre-Kuṣāṇa

World. To be sure, the specific hero has different names and cultural traits; a sampling ranges from the Olympian Hercules, to the clan heroes Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, to the warrior Skanda/Kārttikeya, and, I might add, to the Warrior Goddess.

My own contribution, "Monumental Nāginīs from Mathurā", continues the dialogue begun with the Sonkh evidence on the popularity of Snake (or *nāga*) deities, and the widespread cult devoted to their worship. A unique set of three, possibly four, almost identical female snake deities (*nāginīs*) made in Mathurā has been brought to light. The heavy stone sculptures were probably shipped from Mathurā downstream on the Jumna River to Nandan (U.P.), the town to which two of the set can definitely be traced. The Nāginīs are lifesize and assigned, on the basis of stylistic comparisons, to the 1st century A.D. There is no precedent in Pre-Kuṣāṇa times for a freestanding set composed of several identical female deities, snake or otherwise. The monumental Nāginīs are, to date, an anomaly, but one completely possible in the cultural context. Nevertheless, it often happens that when a rare artistic object is introduced, a cry of "fake" is raised. The "Nāginī" paper has an inordinate amount of discussion on the question of the sculptural set's authenticity. This is done, not only to prove the genuiness of the Nāginīs and thereby establish a new subject category in early Indian art, but also to demonstrate methodological techniques art historians may find useful in debating genuiness of pieces not associated with a secure provenance.

The multicultural foundation from which Kuṣāṇa art develops could not have arisen if foreigners on the move in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World had not allowed for multivalency and cultural borrowings and for relative non-interference in local customs and beliefs. Studies have deduced that nomadic conquerors preferred to leave existing economic structures intact; for example, nomadic graves in Bactria were situated on the edge of valleys and did not encroach on farm or grazing lands.[33] Also ceramic vessels in nomadic graves came from local craft shops. Nomadic preference, it seems, was to exploit rather than destroy exisitng economic structures. The urbanization of the already existing settlement at Khalchayan during the Yuezhi period is another testimony of this inclination. A close reading of deities on some coin types is

[33] K. Enoki, G.A. Koshelenko and Z. Haidary, "The Yüeh-Chih and Their Migrations," *The History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. 2 (1994): 171–189; see especially 182–184.

further endorsement of accommodating gestures towards the populace. Remembering that governments decide on coin types, the decision by the Indo-Scythian "Maues and his immediate successors", according to Mac Dowall, to depict divinities who were Indic or Scythic in character, but were dressed in Grecian garb seems also aimed at assuring multivalency in the heterogenous territories that nomads conquered.

Migrations of incoming foreigners presented in two papers provide details not only about the paths taken but also about the multiple functions of many major access points:

Although control of major routes was a priority of the ruling power in the northern regions, be it to safeguard commercial interests, military exploits, or further immigrations, the flow of traffic described by Saifur Rahman Dar in "Pathways between Gandhāra and North India during second century B.C.–second century A.D." delineates more than connective routes carrying men. Implicit in the account, especially in the itemization of archaeological finds, art, artifacts or rock engravings found along connective passes, is that these passageways were halting points for communication. Ideas and cultural innovations also travelled. So, for example, the Karappah Pass Route from Begram through to Taxila has numerous archaeological sites along the way; both ends of the difficult Khyber Pass Route have impressive sites pertaining to religious activity, trading concerns and a palace complex nearby; the Karakorum Route, already travelled during the first century B.C.–first and second century A.D. has a petroglyph of the *vīras* Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, dating not later than 50 A.D., plus other rock engravings and inscriptions; the Kabul to Bannu Route contains finds suggesting direct trade or indirect contact with the Classical Hellenistic world by way of routes and passes in both Afghanistan and the Northwestern Frontier Province, Pakistan.

The paper by Jason Neelis "Passages to India: Śaka and Kuṣāṇa Migrations in Historical Context" is particularly useful in distinguishing three groups of migrating Śakas. Neelis cites finds and pathways that help trace their migrations, while taking note of the 'animal style' entering into the subcontinent. A bronze rhyton from Imit in the Ishkoman Valley west of Hunza is found on a route from the Pamirs in Central Asia leading into Gandhāra. Ibex figures come from Chilas I and the Kandia Valley, in the region of the Upper Indus. A golden bangle and a splendid golden girdle from the same region again attest to Śaka migrations from the Upper Indus into the subcontinent. To these examples, I may add a silver disc (dating between second century B.C.–first century B.C./A.D.), with a deer

protoma showing aspects of the animal style from Parthian Old Nisa, Turkmenistan reminding us of the Parthians' nomadic origins.[34]

The Pre-Kuṣāṇa World was not the subcontinent's only multicultural region at that time. The Deccan Plateau also attracted outside influences between c. the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. A comparison of roughly contemporaneous societies throws into sharp relief the uniqueness of the Pre-to-Kuṣāṇa World by a shift in perspective. Pia Brancaccio in "Close Encounters: Multicultural Systems in Ancient India" compares the manner in which some western forms were absorbed into the artistic production of both the Deccan Plateau and Greater Gandhāra. The principle of multivalency also works in the Deccan, but with a different outcome. A Deccani find resembling an Orphic primordial egg may interface with Indian cosmogonic notions, or a rattle from Mahārāṣṭra resembles the Egyptian god Bes while reminding of an Indian *yakṣa*. Such finds, and others mentioned by Brancaccio, reveal the region's fascination with western exotica; but the interest was a brief one. In contradistinction, the Northwest sustained a far longer and greater influx of foreign encounters. Gandhāran craftsmen adopted foreign influences and adapted them to their needs. They integrated motifs and foreign prototypes, and sometimes they transformed these into new artistic idioms affecting the indigenous output.

Adoption. Adaption. Transformation. These may be the hallmarks characterizing the vitality and creatvity of Pre- and -early Kuṣāṇa art. This process plays counterpoint to the leitmotif sustained by the artisans from the Gangetic Valley who emphasized Pan-Indic folk, religious and societal expressions, though they were not immune to foreign influences. Much remains to be determined,[35] but already

[34] Antonio Invernizzi, "Old Nisa and the Art of the Steppes," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* N.S. Vol. 10 (1996): 33–38.

[35] For example, very little work has been done on possible overland and riverine routes between Rome, Central Asia and the Northwest and whether, or how, these routes have had an impact upon Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art. [one paper is: P. Callieri, "La Presunta Via Commerciale Tra L'India e Roma Attraverso L'Oxus e il Mar Caspio Nuovi Dati di Discussione," *Topoi* 11 (2001) [2003]: 537–546]. Analysis of the Chinese component in Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art is in its infancy. The effect of Gandhāra's indigenous arts and crafts and how these influenced Gandhāran Kuṣāṇa Art needs extended consideration. An update and review of major Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa images carrying datable inscriptions is needed now that we may have three (possibly four, see Mac Dowall's 'Chronology' paper) eras to which numerical equivalents may be assigned. The contribution of Pre-Kuṣāṇa Jain art has not received sufficient attention.

the collection of papers assembled here expose a trend that begins with a wide spectrum of foreign influences funneling into the subcontinent and that ends with the growing confidence of the South Asian artist to shape these and indigenous themes into original expressions of artistry, meaningful within an equally wide range of South Asian contexts. This may be the legacy Pre-Kuṣāṇa art bestowed upon Kuṣāṇa art.

Acknowledgments

Vision and support to advance an understanding in Pre-Kuṣāṇa art has ensured the fruition of this publication. Most of the papers in the volume were presented at the Symposium 'On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushan World', held at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art during November 8–11, 2000. Mr. Marc F. Wilson, Director and CEO of the Museum made possible the symposium and exhibition of the Mathurā Snake Goddesses by allocating the Museum's energies and resources to this project. At the time, I was Curator of South and Southeast Asian Art at the The Nelson. The commitment of the Museum Trustees to serious research enabled the proceedings to take place and we at the Museum were all fortunate to benefit from their enlightened ways. The symposium received a most generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Both institutions deserve my personal wholehearted thanks. Publication of the volume is indebted to The Neil Kreitman Foundation which provided funding that allowed for editorial assistance. I wish to express sincere thanks to the Foundation for without its support the publication process would have been much more difficult. Assistance in this process was provided by the State University of New York-Stony Brook. I am grateful to the Center of India Studies under the direction of Professor K. Sridhar and to the Department of Asian and Asian-American Studies, Chaired by Professor S. Sridhar for their unstinting commitment to the project, and to Ms. Darlene Prowse, Assistant to the Chair for her considerable administrative help.

I have relied on a number of individuals in the course of completing the several stages of this work. My sincere thanks go to Professor Pierfrancesco Callieri for his keen observations and willingness to advise on some editorial issues. The useful comments of

Professor Harry Falk have been most welcome and I am happy to express my appreciation. Thanks go to all the scholars who contributed papers to this volume and to all the scholars, discussants and participants at the Symposium. My gratitude also goes to the E.J. Brill referee for some good scientific insights.

CHAPTER TWO

PATHWAYS BETWEEN GANDHĀRA AND NORTH INDIA DURING SECOND CENTURY B.C.– SECOND CENTURY A.D.

Saifur Rahman Dar

Introduction

Modern travelers who arrive in the subcontinent through one of its airport gates little realize that until a century ago, the only gates giving access to the subcontinent were the difficult passes in the north-western mountains. It was through these landward openings that the immigrants from Central Asia and conquerors from the west had been pouring in from times immemorial. The ancient world knew about the geography of the northwest of the subcontinent more than it had information on India in general. Alexander and his generals had no knowledge regarding India beyond the River Hyphasis (Beas). But still, they had fairly good knowledge regarding the topography and geography of the highlands of Afghanistan and Gandhāra, and the plains of the Indus Valley.

No doubt, the main thrust of foreign invasions was forged through the passes of Gandhāra. But, side-by-side, foreign armies and caravans also continued to walk through other neighboring passes. These roads and pathways are so numerous that it is difficult to count them correctly.[1] At places, these are so difficult, so impassable, and so inhospitable that, military operations apart, only the most daring people could have ventured journey through them even during relatively pleasant weather and favorable political environments. But

[1] Major Henry George Raverty, in his monumental work, *Notes on Afghanistan and Parts of Baluchistan, Geographical. Ethnographical and Historical* (London, 1878, reprinted as two volumes, Quetta, 1982; also reprinted Lahore, 1976), has enumerated one hundred and four such pathways running between Chitral in the north and Mulla Pass in the south.

still, evidence abounds that from times past man has been walking to and fro on these paths.[2]

Dynasties that ruled this area between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. tried their best to have full administrative control over both ends of the passes that crossed the northern and northwestern border of Gandhāra. The Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kuṣāṇas alike always endeavored to have immediate control over the Kabul Valley and also the Peshawar Valley. Particularly under the Kuṣāṇas, all highways, roads, and paths were under one political umbrella. But whatever route they followed—the Mintaka Pass in the north or the Bolan Pass in the south—the travelers had the same ultimate destination in mind, i.e., to reach the eastern bank of the River Indus, the plains of the Panjab, for their onward journey to northern India. Those columns of men and armies were also the harbingers of new ideas, new cultures, and new art forms.

Types of Pathways and Routes

The routes that controlled traffic from the Northwest of Pakistan were conditioned by five major factors: a) military needs or lust for conquest and wealth; b) trade requirements; c) periodic ethnic and general migration; d) natural calamities; and e) the temptation of the fertile plains of the Panjab and Northern India. Consequent upon these factors, five different types of pathways developed in Gandhāra. These comprised the King's Highway, military roads, caravan and trade routes, Pawinda routes, and pilgrims' routes.

We need not describe each aforementioned type in great detail. Briefly, the King's Highway was the major road running from one end of the country to another and beyond and officially maintained for long distance trade. The best examples of the King's Highway had been the *Jāda-i-Shāh* of the Achaemenians, the *Uttarāpatha* of the Mauryans, the *Saṛak-i-Azam* of Sher Shah Suri, the *Shāhrāh-i-Azam* of the Mughals, and the *Gernaily Saṛak* or Grand Trunk Road of the British Period. These certainly also were used at times to move armies.

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[2] H.C. Verma, *The Medieval Routes to India: A Study of Trade and Military Routes* (Calcutta, 1977, reprinted Lahore, nd., 14).

Military roads, on the whole, were laid out to connect different strategic points, cantonments, and capital cities with strategic points at the border in order to defend the frontiers of the country from enemy action or to launch an offensive on the enemy land. The most interesting example of the military roads is the one followed by Alexander the Great from Alexandria-Kapiśa across the Hindu Kush into Gandhāra, the plains of the Panjab and Sind, and along the coast of Makran.

Traders or caravans usually followed pathways that suited their movements and merchandise, and the government or their local agents protected them. Besides, the popularity and frequency of traffic on these routes largely depended upon a number of factors: a) the volume of trade involved, the frequency of caravans passing along the routes; b) the economic produce of the region traversed; c) the roadside facilities including rest houses, camping grounds, food, fodder, water, and shady trees; d) the security provided by the government; and e) the nature and extent of toll taxes and custom duties imposed on travelers and their merchandise.

Pawinda routes, on the other hand, were meant to carry the seasonal traffic of migrating people from one region to another. Pawinda routes are too numerous to quote and count. Individual families, ethnic groups, and, at times, mass migrations of entire communities, used these Pawinda routes for seasonal migration. The following brief description of more recent seasonal migration patterns may suggest similar movements of people in much earlier, possibly pre-Kuṣāṇa times. Migration may follow any opening, any path, and any pass where people would expect least resistance on the way, in addition to good pasturelands for their herds both during their sojourn and also at the other end of their journey. From times immemorial, Gomul, Kurram, and several minor passes, sometimes in the form of only creased and cracked sided limestone gates in the Suleiman Range, had been in use by the Pawinda *qāfilas*.[3] The Turkish tribe

[3] Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (London, 1909), 77. Among these passes of the Suleiman Range, the Zao Pass was reckoned to be one of the most direct and safest routes between High Asia, Pakistan, and India. However, some one hundred and seventy-five years ago, this narrow pass was blocked by the sudden fall of a huge block of limestone known as Dabarrah Rock, forty to fifty feet in size, which jammed the narrow passage. *Qāfila* means, "A body of travelers or traders," according to John Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English* (London, 1911), 786.

of Ghilzais formerly took a great share of the Pawinda traffic between Afghanistan and Pakistan-India.[4] After coming out of their mountain fastnesses, these Pawinda *qāfilas* usually first headed towards Derajat before going on to Multan, and, finally, to the rest of the Panjab and India proper.

Last of all, the pilgrims' routes were followed by missionaries, preachers and teachers in order to propagate their faiths and to visit holy places. At times, each one of the pilgrims' routes ran independently of others, but at other times, these merged into or crisscrossed one another. The best examples of pilgrims' routes are the paths used by Chinese travelers from China to Gandhāra and the rest of India and then back home.

Seven Basic Routes

There have always been three basic directions (routes) for entering the subcontinent from the North and Northwest. These are from West to East; from Northwest to Southeast; and from North to South. Along these directions can be located seven basic routes, each having several sub-routes, byways, and bypasses together with interconnecting lanes and byways. The seven basic routes are:

I. *Northwest to Southeast*

1. Uttarāpatha ("Northern Route"): Taxila-Sāgala-Mathurā-Pāṭaliputra to Tāmralipti. (This route is actually a continuation of two other routes, i.e. nos. 3 and 2 below, with a 'T'-junction at Taxila.)
2. Begram to Gandhāra: Kabul to Khyber Pass to Peshawar or, as in earlier days, along the Kabul River to Puṣkalāvatī, thence to Ohind on the Indus, to Taxila, and further south. Here it joins with route nos. 1 and 3, above and below.

II. *North to South*

3. Karakoram Route: From Kashgar to Gilgit, to Taxila and then further south. (This route joins with route no. 1 above for an onward journey to the East or West).
4. From Bactria to Badakhshan to Chitral and Swat.

[4] Holdich 1909, 175.

III. *West to East*

5. Gomul Valley, Tochi Valley and Kurram Valley routes emanating from Ghazni, to Bannu, to Derajat and then to Multan for an onward journey.
6. From Quetta to Bolan Pass and/or Mulla Pass, to Kacchi plain and then to Multan for an onward journey.
7. From Kirman in Persia, the coast of Makran to Daibal (the first century B.C. and later); from Daibal north to Multan and an onward journey.

I. *Routes Northwest to Southeast*

1. *Uttarāpatha ("Northern Route")*

We concentrate on the Uttarāpatha (Fig. 2.1) and affiliated routes running from Northwest to Southeast because these routes aim at reaching the Panjab and onward to northern India through Mathurā. The high road or major route between Puṣkalāvatī and Pāṭaliputra is often referred to as the *Uttarāpatha*, or 'northern route,' a term more often used as a general cultural-geographical designation for Northern or Northwestern India.

With a slight variation in its alignment from time to time, it also bore different names at different times—*Uttarāpatha, Haimavatapatha, Shāhrāh-i-Azam, Saṛak-i-Azam, Gernaily Saṛak,* and, finally, the *Grand Trunk Road.* Here, we will discuss this route separately though briefly. In ancient literature, there are frequent references to this highway, but information about it is always sketchy and lacks detail. In particular, the number and names of intermediary stations are not known with accuracy.

The real *Uttarapātha* started from Ohind—the ancient Gateway to India,[5] or, more appropriately, from the junction of three great trade routes at Taxila (Fig. 2.3). From here, the main track formerly ran through the Salt Range to the top of Ara-Nandana defile and then down to the right bank of River Jhelum. River Jhelum was crossed

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[5] According to Moti Chandra, *Trade and Routes in Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1977), 5, the *Haimavatapatha* was traditionally divided into three sectors: The Bactrian Sector; The Hindukush Sector; and The Gandhāran or Indic Sector.

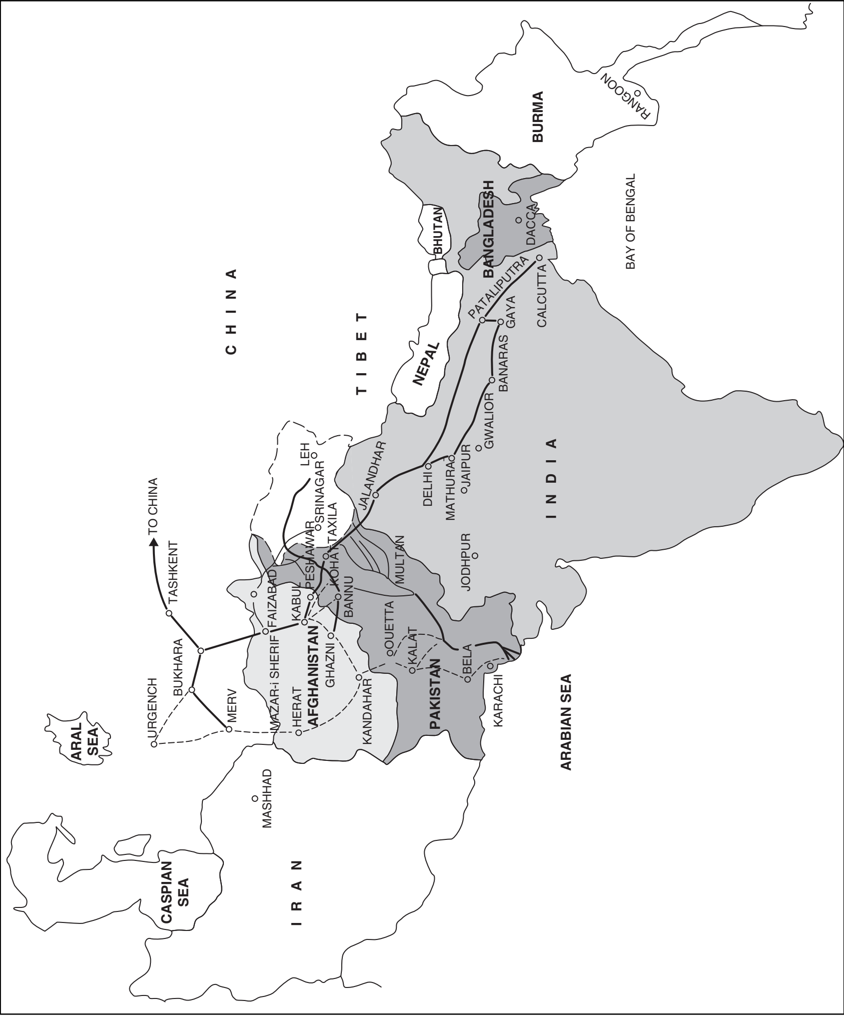


Fig. 2.1 Map of the *Uttarāpatha* or Northern Route linking Eastern India with Central Asia.

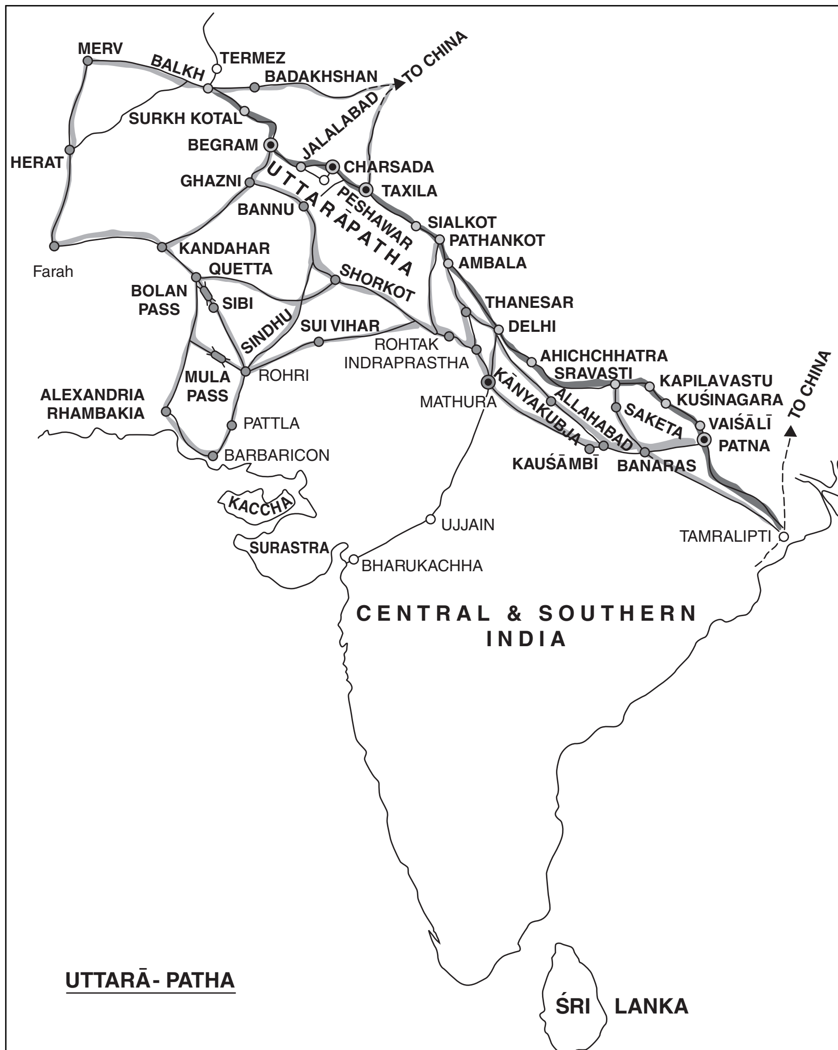


Fig. 2.2 The *Uttarāpatha* (Northern Route) and other connecting routes.

at Jalalpur Sharif, which flourished until at least the first century A.D. The River Chenab was crossed somewhere between Chaniute, i.e., Chiniot, and Pindi Battian, and the River Ravi was crossed at some place around modern Lahore. Between the Ravi (Hydraotes) River and the Acesines (Chenab) River lay the city of Taki, or Asarur, the then-capital seat of the Panjab at the site of Mian Ali Faqiran, now briefly excavated.

Menander the Great shifted his capital to a more central place of his empire than Taxila. His new capital, named 'Sakala,' or 'Sagala also called Euthymedia,' was at the site of modern Sialkot under the shade of the Jammu hills. For this reason, the Indo-Greek rulers of the Panjab might have used a more northerly route from Taxila to Mathurā, touching on the way Alexandria Boucephalos, Alexandria Nicaia, Alexandria Ioumousa, Sakala, and Alexander's Pillars on the Beas. Apollonius of Tyana mentions all these stations except Sakala. Mathurā, on the bank of River Jamuna, was the last stop on the leg of the journey leading to northern India. Beyond this point—or, more accurately, beyond Kurukṣetra—one found the gateway to the Gangetic Basin (see fig. 2.2). From Mathurā, one road formerly snaked to Ujjain (Ozene) and thence to Bharukaccha (Barygaza, Broach) on the Gulf of Cambay. The main road, however, continued eastward with a course that was parallel to the alignment of the Gaṅga and Jamuna Rivers. After stopping over Kāśī, Vārāṇasī, and Sārnāth, it used to reach Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) and finally the coast of the Bay of Bengal at the site of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk) near Colicut or Calcutta.

2. *Begram to Gandhāra*

Routes between Begram and Gandhāra were either a part or an extension of the *Uttarāpatha*. The two most frequented routes are the northern Karappah Pass Route (figs. 2.3 and 2.4) connecting Gandhāra with Kapiśa, and probably in operation during the pre-Kuṣāṇa Period, and the southern route over the Khyber Pass (fig. 2.4) probably used later in the Kuṣāṇa Period.

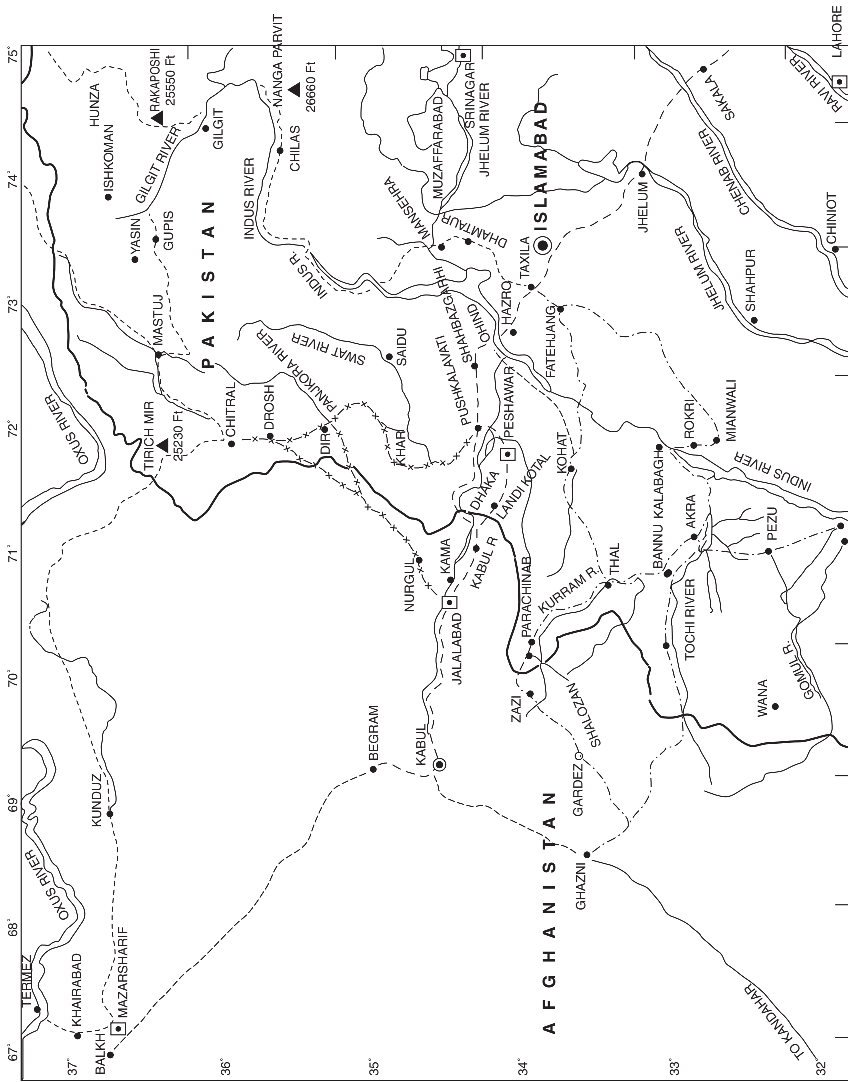


Fig. 2.3 Map showing part of *Uttarāpatha* between Begram, Taxila and other connecting routes.

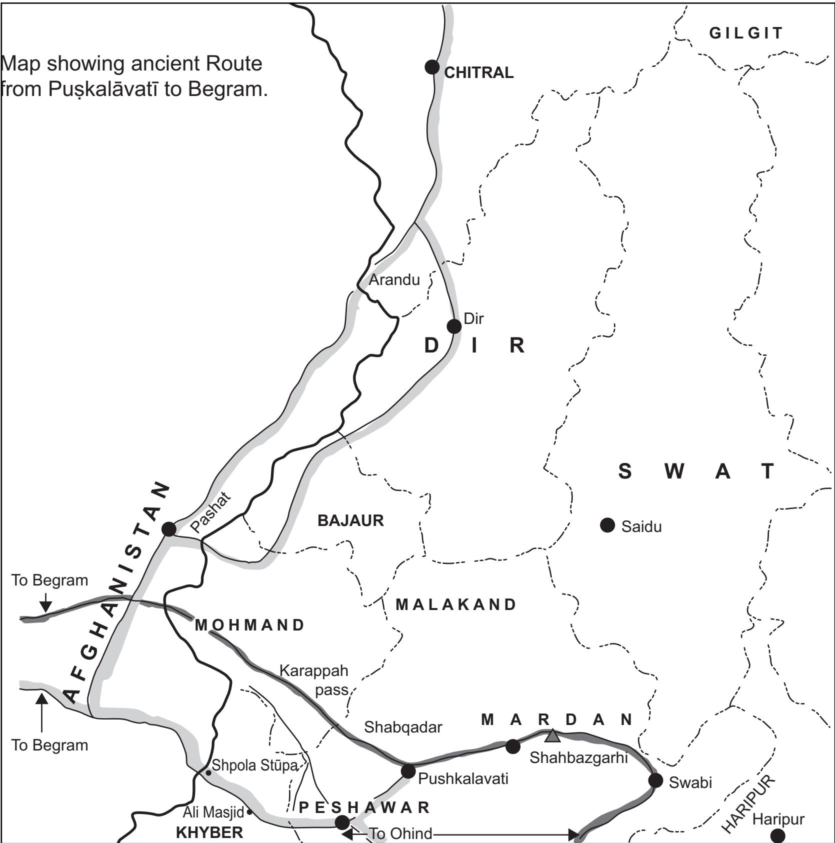


Fig. 2.4 Map showing ancient Route from Puṣkalāvatī to Begram.

Karappah Pass Route

The Karappah Pass Route ran along the northern bank of the Kabul River over a short distance. It is generally accepted that during the period under discussion, the Afghan highlands were connected with Gandhāra through this northern, rather than southern, route by means of two alternate passages, namely the Kapiśa (Begram)—Puṣkalāvatī-Taxila (Fig. 2.3) passage or the Kapiśa-Bajaur (Khar)-Swat-Taxila passage (Fig. 2.4).

The Karappah Pass Route bypasses the more difficult Khyber Pass Route on its south. From Begram, it first follows King's Highway and shares all the ascents and descents until Dhaka/Lalpura. On this sector, travelers desirous of going to Alishang and Alingar would cross the river at the ferry of Mandawar, while those intending to proceed towards Nur Gal, Kunar, and Pashat would use a ferry at Jalalabad. Those destined to journey to Puruṣapura and Puṣkalāvatī and beyond into the plains of the Panjab had two options: after reaching Dhaka/Lalpura, they could go directly to Peshawar by the Ali Masjid-Jamrod-Tahkal route, or they could take a relatively easier or less cumbersome route starting from Lalpura on the bank of River Kabul opposite Dhaka. By means of this second route, they would proceed towards Gandab, Karappa Ghashaey, Shab Qadar and, after crossing the little river Jindai at Bala Hissar, they would reach Puṣkalāvatī (modern Shaikhan Dheri at Charsada), the capital of Gandhāra in the second century B.C. From here, Puruṣapura was only eighteen miles to the south. Travelers for long distances would go straight to Taxila via Shahbazgarhi—the site of Aśoka's Rock Edicts—and thence to Ohind on the Indus. By both these routes, the distance between Begram and Puruṣapura remained almost the same, i.e., about 110 *kuroh*. A *kuroh* is slightly less than two English miles.

There is no doubt that the Kapiśa (Kapiśi)-Puṣkalāvatī-Ohind-Taxila road was more popular in ancient times than the Kapiśa-Puruṣapura-Taxila route. This is demonstrated by the fact that a number of archaeological sites pertaining to the period under consideration exist much more frequently along the former route than along the latter one.[6] Whereas between Peshawar and Ohind, there exist a few minor archaeological sites from the first two or three

[6] Ihsan Ali, "Settlement History of Charsadda District," *APk* 9 (1994): 1–164; Ihsan Ali, "Urbanization in the Kushan Time," *JAC* 21, no. 1 (July 1999): 1–38.

centuries of our era,[7] the road from Shaikhan-dheri (Puṣkalāvatī) to Ohind is littered with a great number of sites from this period.[8] When Aśoka decided to install edicts in this area, he selected the city of Shahbazgarhi[9] on this route for the purpose. Beside the site of rock edicts from the third century B.C., there are some well-known sites,[10] such as Mekhasanda, Chanaka-dheri, Surkh Dheri, Aziz Dheri, Tor Dheri, Ranigat, Rata Pind, Salatura, (the birthplace of the third-century B.C. grammarian, Pāṇini) and Ohind. At Ohind, boats were needed to cross the River Indus to Hazro, then on the opposite bank. The district of Hazro is again full of archaeological sites that are now being ruthlessly damaged by treasure hunters. Along the present Grand Trunk Road, there are only two archaeological sites of which I know—one at Haji Shah Morr, and the other at Bihari Colony, Hasanabdal.[11]

The Bajaur-Buner-Taxila route remained popular during the Indo-Greek and also the Parthian periods. The most significant finds of this period from this area are a number of so-called Buner Stair-Risers now divided among The British Museum, the Victoria and

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[7] One small Buddhist period site at the village of Dagai Jadeed on Peshawar Nowshera road is one example.

[8] According to Ahmad Hasan Dani and F.A. Khan, "Kushan Civilization in Pakistan," *CAKP* 1 (Moscow, 1974): 102, "The urban centers increased to a very large extent during the period. In the main valley of Peshawar all such cities lie to the north of the Kabul River along the old route that came from Taxila and across the Indus to Hund or Salatura (today's Chhota Lahore i.e. Smaller Lahore) onward to Puṣkalāvatī—on the confluence of the Swat and Kabul rivers."

[9] For the significance of Shabazgarhi in the geography of Gandhāra see, A. Foucher, *Notes on The Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, trans. H. Hargreaves, (Calcutta, 1915, reprinted Varanasi, 1974), 22–34.

[10] The Japanese Archaeological Mission in Pakistan has excavated the sites of Chanaka Dheri, Mekhasanda, and Ranigat and has published reports on the latter two. Aziz Dheri has been excavated by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of the N.W.F. Province, with interesting finds, and the site of Ohind has been excavated by the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University. The reports of both are awaited. For a treasure discovered from the site of Tor Dheri, see John H. Marshall, "Buddhist Gold Jewelry," *A/R, ASI* (1902–03): 185–194. Tor Dheri jewelry originally comprised a considerable hoard, though according to Marshall, the government could recover only thirteen items. These were then sent to Lahore Museum where they are no longer traceable. Probably, they were claimed back by the Archaeological Survey of India, as was the case for jewelry from Taxila. For a detailed bibliography of Japanese Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, see Saifur Rahman Dar, "Gandhara Art in Perspective," *MTIAC* 2 (1998): 81–85.

[11] Although both these sites have been excavated, a report only has been published regarding Haji Shah Morr. See Muhammad Sharif, "Excavation at Haji Shah Morr," *PkA* VI (1996): 62–99. Both date from the Mature Gandhāran period.

Albert Museum, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), and Peshawar Museum. Particularly, three of these panels in The Cleveland Museum and ROM present Dionysian themes in a very refined manner. These possibly belonged to some stage performers of the Parthian period (i.e., the first century A.D.) who traveled along this historic route to Taxila.[12] Marshall, who has illustrated the maximum number of these panels, dates them between 25 and 60 A.D.[13] A few similar stair risers recently have been excavated *in situ* fixed in the steps of the staircase of the main *stūpa* at Gangue Dher on the ancient road between Puṣkalāvatī-Shahbazgarhi-Ohind.[14] But these risers belong to a late phase of history of Gandhāra, i.e., circa 5th–6th century A.D.

Khyber Pass Route

The southern Khyber Pass route, on the other hand, connected Kabul with Taxila through the Khyber Pass and Puruṣapura/Peshawar (Fig. 2.4). The last site appears to have become a popular one after Kaniṣka I made Puruṣapura his winter capital and selected it for a monumental construction of his Buddhist *vihāra*. The Khyber Pass has been the most direct route only after it was made the King's Highway in the seventeenth century A.D. It came to the lot of Akbar the Great (1555–1605 A.D.) that this difficult pathway was developed and transformed into a *Shāhrāh*, i.e., a King's Highway, under the superintendence of Qasim Khan. Before this, it was only considered good for horses and camels.[15] Obviously, the difficulty of the terrain and the untamed and untameable tribes occupying the Pass, as even today, had been the main reason that both armies and caravans alike avoided the Khyber Pass.

In terms of archaeology, the Khyber Pass route is not as absolutely barren as it usually is said to be. At both ends of this route stand two famous archaeological sites—Begram, which is twenty-five miles

[12] B. Goldman, "Parthians at Gandhara", *East and West* n.s. 28, nos. 1–4 (1978): 189–202; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India-Hindu, Buddhist, Jain*, 1st ed. (Harmondsworth, 1953, 1st paperback ed., Harmondsworth, 1970, 132, fig. 71).

[13] John Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Cambridge, 1960) 33–39, figs. 40–57.

[14] The stair risers were excavated in the early 1990s by a team of Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of NWF Province, though the report is still awaited.

[15] Raverty 1878, 39.

north of Kabul, and Puruṣapura (the 'Peshawar' or 'Baghram' of medieval history). Begram, the site of Alexandria-Kapiśa, and later the summer capital of the Kuṣāṇa, in particular, has yielded a rich treasure of Indian ivories, Hellenistic plates, and Chinese lacquer,[16] together with the grand Buddhist *stūpa* at Peshawar. Furthermore, the ancient settlement patterns in the area imply movement along this trade route. In particular, the survey of settlement pattern in the Nowshera and Charsada (see Fig. 2.2) districts of Peshawar Valley is very instructive. The survey carried out by Professor Ihsan Ali has shown that the valley was sparsely populated during the Achaemenian period, the population increased gradually during the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian periods in the second and first centuries B.C., after which the population increased almost to an optimum during the Kuṣāṇa period in the first and second centuries A.D. After the Kuṣāṇa period, the population once again began diminishing until in the Hindu Shahi period it was only slightly better than that of the Achaemenian and Mauryan Periods.[17] But still more important is the conclusion that particularly during the Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian, and Kuṣāṇa periods, all the settlements laid out in relation to trade routes far outnumbered those that were founded with preference to irrigation facilities (Fig. 2.8). Almost the same conclusions can be derived from the 1996 survey of Saeed-ur-Rehman and his team in District Nowshera.

Haḍḍa, another large site eight kilometers south of Jalalabad (ancient Nagarahāra) now unfortunately damaged, is famous for early schist, limestone, and stucco sculpture and also for traces of wall paintings in a few rock-cut temples. These are closest to the colossal phase of Gandhāra art.[18] Kabul itself has not yielded any relic of the period under reference. However, the site of Tepe Maranjan near Kabul has revealed a painted statue of a *bodhisattva* and some

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[16] J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA 9 (1939); J. Hackin et al., *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA 11 (1954); Roman Ghirshman, *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et historique sur les Kouchans* (MDAFA 12, Cairo, 1946); Benjamin Rowland, *Ancient art from Afghanistan treasures of the Kabul Museum* (New York, 1966, reprinted 1976); K.N. Dikshit, "Buddhist Centers in Afghanistan," offprint from *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, edited by S.P. Gupta and Lokesh Chandra (Delhi, 1970), 232.

[17] Ali, 1994: 1–164; Ali, 1999: 1–38.

[18] J.J. Barthoux, "*Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*," MDAFA 4 and 6 (1930); Dikshit 1970, 232.

wall paintings assignable to the fourth century A.D. The Buddhist site of Kamdaka near the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan also can be quoted in this respect.[19]

Between Peshawar and Kabul, along the Khyber Pass, exist two Buddhist period sites: 1) a *stūpa* and a settlement site yielding sculptures and coins[20] at Shpola near Landi Kotal; 2) and two Buddhist *stūpas* at Ali Masjid.[21] Near Ali Masjid, again, a pre-Islamic fort called Kafir Kot has been reported on top of a mountain.[22] Some ancient mounds of unspecified dates also have been sited near Gardao[23] and Khyber Khurd,[24] together with some forts and other buildings of considerable extent at Dhaka.[25] Closer to the eastern gate of the Khyber Pass at Jamrod—more correctly between the campus of Peshawar University and the Peshawar Cantonment—there once used to be a huge settlement site and a big Buddhist *stūpa* at Tahkal, now totally obliterated. From here, we have the beautiful life size statue of Pāñcika (now in Lahore Museum).[26] A few kilometers further east and on the outskirs of the walled city of Peshawar were once the remains of the great *stūpa* already referred to above. It is interesting to note that all archaeological sites referred to above are partly contemporary and partly posterior to the period under our consideration. These belong to heydays of Gandhāran art under the Kuṣāṇas. From this it can be inferred that although the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and even early Kuṣāṇas do not appear to have used the Khyber Pass route, their repeated incursions made it possible to look for an alternate route direct to Peshawar, a city soon to become a great Buddhist center and winter capital of the Kuṣāṇa rulers.[27]

[19] Dikshit 1970, 236.

[20] Raverty 1878, 40.

[21] Syed Qudrutullah Fatimi, "Battle of the Khyber (Circa 303 B.C.) As described in the newly discovered Śri Lanka Inscriptions," revised and enlarged edition of the paper read at the *Second Congress of History and Culture* held at the University of Sind, Hyderabad (Pakistan), on the 25th–27th April 1975 (Cyclostyled Copy), 41.

[22] Fatimi 1975, 38, 41.

[23] Raverty 1878, 45.

[24] Raverty 1878, 45.

[25] Raverty 1878, 43.

[26] For the site of Tahkal see Elizabeth Errington, "Tahkal—the Nineteenth century record of two lost Gandharan Sites," reprint from *SOAS* 50, pt. 2 (1987): 301–324. For a large statue of Pāñcika from Tahkal now in Lahore Museum (No. G. 101), see Harald Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), 144, no. 338.

[27] A.H. Dani, *Peshawar—Historic City of the Frontier* (Peshawar 1969, reprinted Peshawar 1995), 49. Kaniṣka may have made Peshawar his winter capital, but he

There were several side routes that frequently branched off from the King's Highway and rejoined it at another point. For example, a side route forked from the main road at But-i-Khak and went straight to Hissarak, with a link-road to Chauki Queema on the King's Highway, from where it continued on to Tutu, again with a link-road with Pul-i-Kamran; it finally joined the main road at Nimlah. From Pul-i-Kamran another minor road—the so-called Kaj or Kag Route, took a northern flank and joined the main road at Fatehabad. From Chauki Baoli near Tezin, a side road came from Jalalabad near Nimlah. From Bash Bulak, a northerly route called Tehtarah or Tartarra Route—forty *kuroh* in length, went straight to Jamrud.[28] From Ali Masjid, another side road—the Kotal Shadi Bagyari or Batyari route—also went straight to Jamrud. It was fit only for travelers on foot. From Safed Sang on the highway between Jalalabad and Nimlah, a minor road went directly to Baro, 3 *kuroh* west of Bhati Kot.

In addition to the route lying to the south of Kabul River, there were several other routes on the same side of the river that emanated from Kabul and reached different destinations at Kohat, Bannu, Lakki Marwat, etc. Before joining the main route to Hindustan at the Indus crossing near Udabhāṇḍapura (modern Hund),[29] several other southern routes emanated from Kabul and went to Ghazni and Kandahar via Logar; Jalalabad via Aab-i-Zindgani; Jalalabad via Darra Koja;[30] Ghazni by way of Hissarak Tangee; Gardez of Zurmat;

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certainly did not found it. The city has existed for several centuries before the Kuṣāṇas. Recent deep digging at the site of Gor Khutree within the walled city has shown that it was founded in the fourth century B.C. during the period of Achaemenian or the Mauryans. Five of the occupation layers belong to the Greek period, and the earliest Greek coin found from the excavation belongs to Demetrius of the second century B.C. (see F.A. Durrani, Taj Ali, et al., "Excavations at Gor Khutree—A Preliminary Note," *Athariyyat (Archaeology)*, Peshawar, vol. I, 1997, 192.

[28] Raverty 1878, 37. Contrary to Raverty, Verma 1977, 71–72 mentions three branches of this route. But his third branch, i.e., Jamrud > Kohat > Peshawar, is actually an independent route and cannot be mixed up with the main route or any of its branches in the sense we have described the two branches here. Among these, the Tehtarah route, despite being longer and more difficult, was considered safe for traders. It was closer to the river. After leaving King's Highway at Dhaka, the Tehtarah route entered a difficult and rugged mountainous terrain. After a succession of steep hills, it entered the Peshawar Valley some nine miles north of Jamrud. Near Aab Khana (or Ambar Khana) is the ferry on the River Kabul opposite Michni. Crossing was made possible by rafts of inflated skin. North of Aab Khana is the Karappah Pass once used for the road to Puṣkalāvatī (see Verma 1977, 72).

[29] See Raverty's routes nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 73.

[30] For detailed discussion of these nine southern routes from Kabul to Hindustan, see Raverty 1878, 68–98.

Ghazni by way of Darra of Kharwal; and Ghazni, Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and Kandahar.

II. *Routes North to South*

3. *Karakoram Route (Figs. 2.5; 2.6)*

The extreme northern part of Pakistan forms the apex of the 'Indic' subcontinent. Here, the three great mountain ranges—the Himalayas, Hindukush, and Pamirs—meet at a point called Tagdumbash Pamir. From Central Asian Tajikistan, China easily can be reached by means of the Beyik and Nezalish Passes. Recent explorations along the Karakoram Highway combined with Sir Aurel Stein's earlier survey have shown how these heights never stood in the way of pilgrims from and to China.[31] Some of the important halting stations on this route beginning at Taxila are given below:

Taxila → Mansehra → Pishora → Batagram → Pattan → Komila → Shatial Bridge → Thor → Hodar → Chilas → Thalpan → Alam Bridge → Gilgit → Hunza → Haldeikish → Gulmit → Batura Bridge → Sust → Khudabad → Misgar → Bab-i-Gundai in Kilik Mintaka → Dardi → Tashkurgan also called the Towers of Stones (Λιθινοσ Πυργοσ).[32]

Thousands of rock carvings from prehistoric times to the present, together with hundreds of inscriptions cut in living rocks and boulders in a variety of scripts and languages mostly between Shatial and Shing Nala in the Upper Indus Valley, offer a strong testimony regarding how many people, pilgrims, traders and military leaders of diverse ethnic origin had passed through this route in the past.[33]

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[31] Saifur Rahman Dar, "The Silk Road and Buddhism in Pakistani Contexts," *LMB* I, no. 2 (1988): 29–58 (in particular, see appendix entitled, "Important Stations on Taxila-Gilgit-Tashkurgan Route," 48–53).

[32] Nowadays, this route has been diverted to Khunjerab Pass in order to reach Tashkurgan in China (see fig. 2.5).

[33] For the quantity and diversity of these rock carvings and inscriptions and to understand their implication for the history of the region, see Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Chilas—The City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)* (Islamabad, 1983); Karl Jettmar, *Beyond the Gorges of the Indus—Archaeology before Excavation* (Karachi, 2002). Also see publications in the series *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan (ANP)* and *Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans (MANP).*

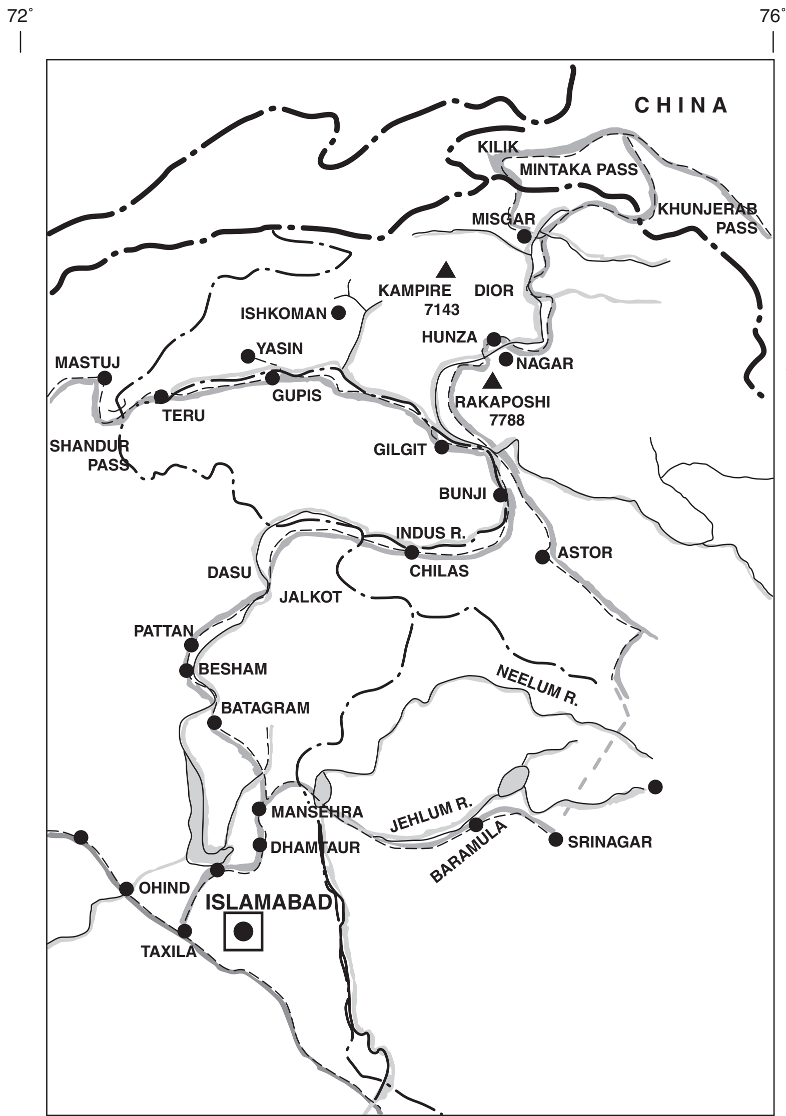


Fig. 2.5 Northern Route linking Taxila with Gilgit and beyond.



Fig. 2.6 Northern Route along the Karakorum Highway between Kashgar–Gilgit and to Taxila.

4. *From Bactria to Badakhshan to Chitral and Swat*

From Northern Afghanistan, a direct route from Bactra to Chitral and Gilgit was available via Badakhshan. From Chitral, a southward road would branch off to Bajaur, Kunar, and Kabul (Figs. 2.3–5). Raverty[34] gives detailed itineraries for nineteenth century routes between Faizabad in Badakhshan to Chitral in the territory of Kashkar. It needs to be determined whether this route was used in pre-Kuṣāṇa times.

In the nineteenth century, Chitral was the capital of Kashkar. Merchandise from Yarkand, Badakhshan, Kabul, and Peshawar was brought there and sold. Nowadays, Gilgit plays a similar role but mainly as a transit station for merchandise from China and Pakistan.

From Chitral, various routes used to go to Tiraj Mir, to Mastuch or Mastuj, to Gilgit via Warshigun on the one hand, and to Dir and Swat and Thakot in Pakhli district on the other hand. The last route now is called Karakorum Highway. Formerly, travelers intending to go to Yarkand and Kashghar would part at Garra Ana Sar near Warshigun on the Chitral-Warshigun-Gilgit road. Thus from Chitral to Dir, to Swat and Thakot, Gandhāra was reached without much difficulty.

III. *Routes West to East*

5. *Kurram, Tochi and Gomul Valley Routes (parts of Figs. 2.1; 2.2; 2.7)*

West-East routes through the Kurram, Tochi, and Gomul valleys form an integral part of the network of routes through the Khyber and Karappah passes. These routes aimed at reaching the Panjab and northern India through Taxila on the one hand and Derajat on the other hand. Although all of these routes are not directly connected to Gandhāra, the Panjab, and northern India, these pathways are associated with the history and culture of these regions.

The Kurram Valley Route

There is an old route south of Khyber Pass. The Spin Gar (*Safed Koh*) separates the two from each other. Both the Khyber and the

[34] Raverty 1878, 184–189, route nos. 37 and 38.

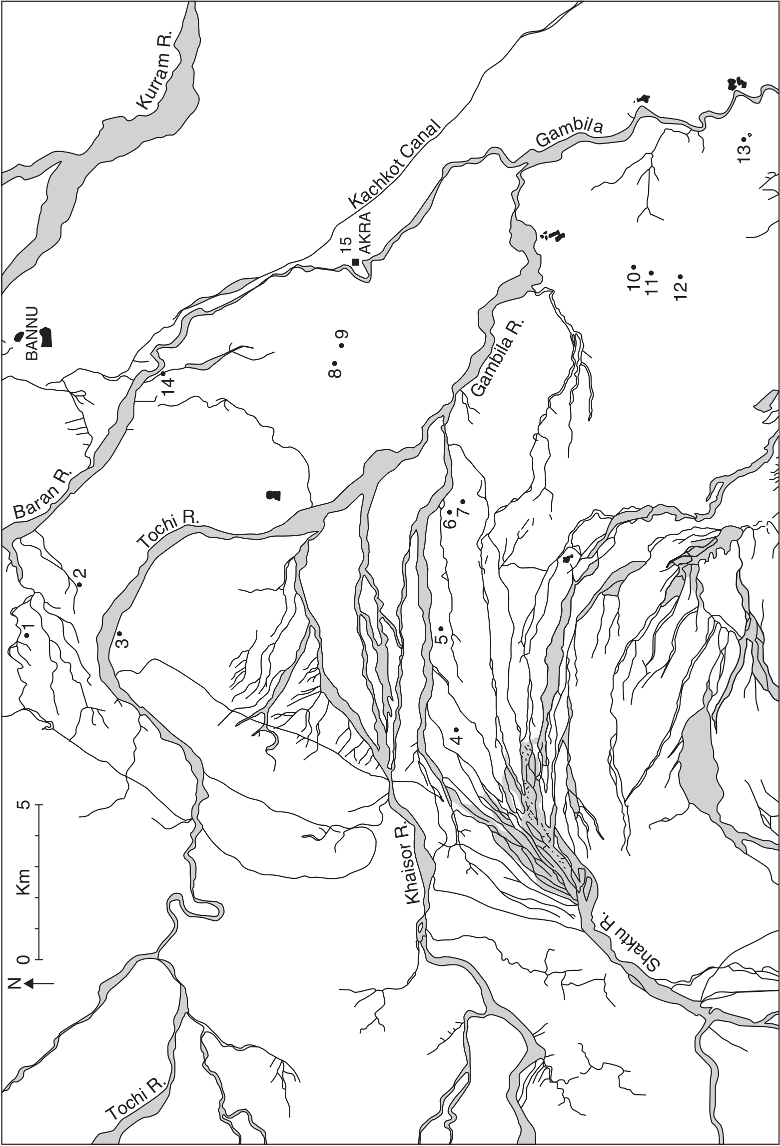


Fig. 2.7 Map showing archaeological sites in the Kurram and Tochi Valleys, Bannu Basin in 1991: 1 Dre Ghunderai, 2. Islam Chowki, 3. Tarakai Qila, 4. Tarakai Ghundai, 5. Sheri Khan Tarakai, 6. Barrai Khuarra I, 7. Lak Largai, 8. Lewan, 9. Seer Dherai, 10. Yarak, 11. Nekumshak, 12. Tup Takhti Khei, 13. Gul Shah Tup, 14. Ter Kala Dheri (also known as Dad Kala Kach Kot Dherai) and, 15. Akra. (Courtesy Prof. Farid Khan)

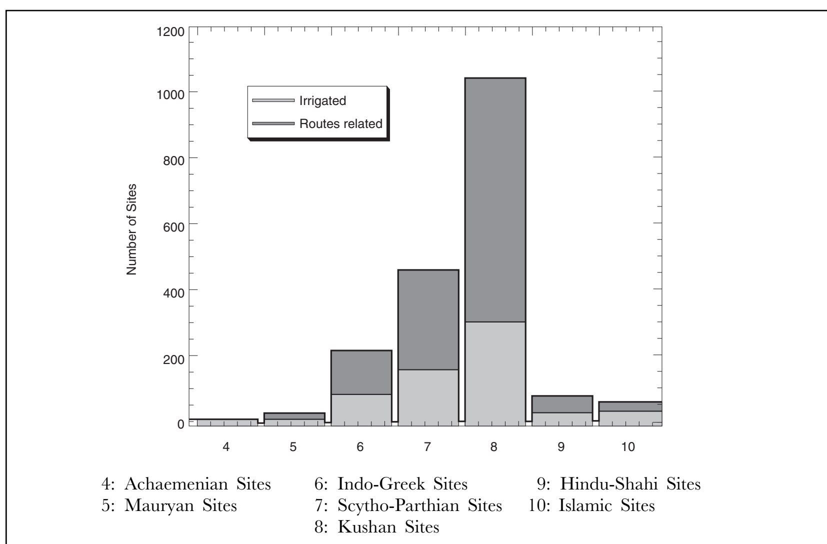


Fig. 2.8 Peshawar Valley 1999: Sites showing comparison between trade routes and irrigation in different periods. (Courtesy Prof. Ihsan Ali)

Kurram routes emanate from a single point, and both aim to reach the same destination—the fertile plains of the Panjab—though they use different intermediary stations—Puruṣapura on the one hand, and Bannu on the other. The latter emanates from the Kabul Valley and runs towards the Kurram Valley at the head of the historic Peiwar Pass (*Paiwar Kotal*) under the shadow of Sikaram (Sitaram?), which sits 15,620 feet above sea level, on the Durand Line. Because of the rigid line of the range, there is no lateral communication between the two routes.[35]

The most important archaeological landmark of the Kabul-Bannu route is the huge mound of Akra that has been yielding remarkable finds for many years. Among other things, this site has yielded a marble toilet tray depicting the Hellenistic theme of Artemis and Actaeon from the first century A.D.,[36] a 68 mm high cameo in dark blue chalcedony or onyx depicting in white the head of Heracles in profile that is dateable to the first century A.D. (The British Museum Reg. No. G&R 1893.5–2, 1 and The Walters Museum 1026, Catalogue

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[35] Holdich 1909, 135.

[36] Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, 2nd ed. (Lahore, 1998), 151, pl. XII, b.

no. 3558), a finely carved dark hard stone intaglio depicting a standing lion looking left (The British Museum Reg. No. OA. 1956. 4–2, 4), and, most remarkable, the semi-precious stone carvings from Akra in the form of a carved garnet of prodigious size—circa. 60 mm—in the form of a *hamsa* or goose with outspread wings (the Victoria and Albert Museum, Reg. No. IM 34.1935) dateable to the first century A.D. More recently, excavations currently being conducted at Akra by a team from The British Museum also have yielded many hundreds, if not thousands, of seals and intaglios probably for the most part dateable to the last centuries B.C. and to the early centuries A.D. The toilet tray, the cameo and intaglios, and a number of copies of terracotta Roman lamps from this site on the Peiwar Pass route suggest either direct contact through trade with the classical Hellenistic world or, as in the case of the copied Roman lamps, perhaps "a local rendering of a highly desirable scarce trade item, in this case, a luxury object probably of very high value."[37] These finds are a good illustration that Akra was linked to the rest of Indo-Greek or Parthian world of the period.[38] Two Hindu stone sculptures also were found in the area, namely from Wanda Shahabkhel four kilometers northeast of Bannu, both of which date between the second and third centuries A.D. One represents Varāha and the other depicts Ekamukhaliṅga.[39]

Tochi and Gomul Routes (cf. parts of Fig. 2.3)

These two routes together link the Afghan highlands with the plains of the Panjab. Though not directly related to Gandhāra, these routes have played an important role in disseminating nomadic cultural and ethnic elements in the region. Both are south of the Kurram Valley Route. One is through the "open ramp of the Tochi Valley,"[40] whereas the other runs through the Gomul (Gomal) River. Emanating from or aiming to reach Ghazni, both are ancient highways. However,

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[37] Farid Khan, J.R. Knox, P. Magee, and K.D. Thomas, "Akra: The Ancient Capital of Bannu, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan," *JAC* 23, no. 1 (2005): 55–60.

[38] The site has a long period of occupation ranging from the Bronze Age down to the early historic period. See Khan et al. 2000, 57.

[39] Farid Khan, "The Ekamukhalinga from Wanda Shahabkhel, Northwest Frontier Province, Pakistan," *South Asian Studies* 9 (1993): 87–91; Abdul Aziz Farooq, "A Note on Ekamukhalinga Stone," *JCA* 11 (1988): 141–146; Saeedur Rahman, "A Varāha Figure from Wanda Shahabkhel," *JCA* 12, no. 2 (1989): 57–65. However, Farooq dates the Ekamukhalinga to the eighth to ninth centuries A.D., though this seems incorrect.

[40] Holdich 1909, 136.

the Tochi Valley route figures less prominently in history. Actually, this route, despite its difficulties, appears to have been utilized in the past more for sudden raids from Ghazni than for peaceful movements of people and caravans.[41]

These two routes engulf Waziristan on the north and south. To the west of Waziristan, and between it and the highlands of Afghanistan, there is a land of rough hills that shuts off the head of the Tochi Valley from the Ghazni plains and forms the barrier through which the Gomul breaks before it reaches the open stony plain of Wana.[42] From here, the Tochi Pass leads nowhere—it therefore still remains an unsolved problem as to how the travelers through this route reached Ghazni. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this route was used effectively, and indications yet may be traced out of a high level road on the northern watershed of the valley, and out of entrenchments in the open plains at its foot.

The Gomul Valley on the south of Waziristan also leads to Ghazni. This route was the more frequented of the two routes mentioned above. This is the great trade route along which the picturesque Pawinda *qāfilas* previously used to travel. In the nineteenth century, these Pawindas moved from as far as Bukhara in Central Asia to the plains in the East, and from as far South as Madras in South India.[43] Beyond the Tochi and Gomul routes there are certain byways leading into the heart of Afghanistan, but we will not describe their details here.

6 and 7. *Routes 6 and 7 through the Passes and Coast of Baluchistan:*

6. From Quetta to Bolan/Mulla Passes
7. From Kirman to Makran and Daibal

Much earlier than the northern passes of Gandhāra, both the coastal routes and the passes in Baluchistan initiated the process of cultural interaction between Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Pakistan, and Northern India.[44] Even during the period of a few centuries before

[41] Holdich 1909, 136.
[42] Holdich 1909, 72.
[43] Holdich 1909, 68.
[44] Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Inter-relation of Iran and Pakistan—A New Perspective," *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*. 3rd October–1st Nov. 1974, Tehran, 1975, 279–300; Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Origin of Bronze Age Cultures in the Indus Basin—A Geographical Perspective," *Expedition* 5, no. 17 (1975): 12–18.

and after the Christian era, this area remained active in developing and maintaining East-West contacts—cultural, social and commercial. In 1887, a bronze statue of a Hercules of Oriental Hellenistic origin was discovered from the Fort of Quetta.[45] A silver goblet of Parthian origin (first century A.D.) was excavated from Sampur, some four miles west of Mastung on the Quetta-Kalat Road.[46] Additionally, in 1991, a unique hoard of Achaemenian period gold and stone vessels was discovered from the site of Serena Hotel, Quetta.[47] Long ago, some jewels and beads were discovered in a cinerary jar close to the Buddhist *vihāra* of Shahi Yolamira at Tor Dheri in the Loralai District.[48] All of these provide evidence that from prehistoric times to the early historic period, Baluchistan never failed to keep its contacts with its western and northwestern neighbors by means of the various routes that once connected it with the outside world. The presence of Scythians, Parthians, and Kuṣāṇas is attested to by coins, ceramics, and other cultural artifacts dating from the second century B.C. to the eighth century A.D. from areas of western Pakistan and southern Pakistan as far south as Daibal (Bambhore) near Karachi.

Conclusion

A traveler, whether s/he began from Bactria, Kapiśa/Begram, Ghazni, Kandahar, or Herat, and whether s/he stopped at Peshawar, Puṣkalāvatī, Taxila, Bannu, Derajat, Multan, Quetta, or Khuzdar, ultimately would arrive at Mathurā, the gateway to Northern India. From here onward was *Āryāvarta*—the land of the Aryans, where a region with a different topography, route system, and cultural tradition awaited the traveler.

[45] J.E. Garwood, "Notes on Ancient Mounds in the Quetta District," *JASB* 56, no. 1 (1887): 161–163; Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the north-west of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan—4th c. B.C. to 11th c. A.D.* (Naples, 1997), 181. Only one illustration of this statue is known. The statue itself was sent to the office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta.

[46] *A/R ASI* 1923–24, 55, pl. XV, c.

[47] Michael Jansen, Maire Mullory, and Gunter Urban, eds., *Forgotten Cities of the Indus—Early Civilizations in Pakistan from the 8th to the 2nd Millenium* (Mainz, 1991): 102–103, pl. 85–89.

[48] Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Wazīristān and north Balūchistān*, MASI no. 37, Calcutta 1929, 69.

Abbreviations Used in this Paper

APk	Ancient Pakistan
A/R, ASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year . . .
BA	The Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume No.
BSOAS	The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
CAKP	B. Gafurov et al. Kushan Studies in the U.S.S.R.; papers presented by Soviet scholars at the UNESCO Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period. (Dushanbe, 1968).
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
EI	Epigraphia Indica
JAC	Journal of Asian Civilizations (previous JCA)
JCA	Journal of Central Asia (current JAC)
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JRSP	Journal of Research Society of Pakistan
LMB	Lahore Museum Bulletin
MASI	The Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India
MDAFA	Memoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan
MTIAC	Memoir of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations
PkA	Pakistan Archaeology
SAA	South Asian Archaeology
SOAS	The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
TIAC	Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations

CHAPTER THREE

PASSAGES TO INDIA: ŚAKA AND KUṢĀṆA MIGRATIONS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Jason Neelis

Introduction

Numerous passageways through the northwestern frontiers of the Indian subcontinent in modern Pakistan and Afghanistan served as migration routes to South Asia from the Iranian plateau and the Central Asian steppes. Prehistoric and protohistoric exchanges across the Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and Himalaya ranges demonstrate earlier precedents for routes through the high mountain passes and river valleys in later historical periods. Typological similarities between Northern Neolithic sites in Kashmir and Swat and sites in the Tibetan plateau and northern China show that "Mountain chains have often integrated rather than isolated peoples."[1] Ties between the trading post of Shörtūghai in Badakhshan (northeastern Afghanistan) and the lower Indus valley provide evidence for long-distance commercial networks and "polymorphous relations" across the Hindu Kush until c. 1800 B.C.[2] The Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) may have functioned as a "filter" for the introduction of Indo-Iranian languages to the northwestern Indian subcontinent, although routes and chronologies remain hypothetical.[3] In early historic periods, the provinces of Gandhāra (*Gadāra*) and Sindh (*Hiduš*) belonged to the

[1] Giorgio Stacul, "Neolithic Inner Asian traditions in northern Indo-Pakistani valleys," in *South Asian Archaeology 1993*, eds. Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio (Helsinki, 1994), vol. 2, 712; also see comments by Bridget Allchin and Frank Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1982), 116.

[2] Henri-Paul Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortughaï: Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale Protohistorique* (Paris, 1989), vol. 2, 421.

[3] Asko Parpola, "From the dialects of Old Indo-Aryan to Proto-Indo-Aryan and Proto-Iranian," in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Oxford, 2002), 67.

Achaemenid empire of ancient Iran according to inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes.[4] Alexander of Macedon attempted to conquer the eastern Achaemenid provinces in the Panjab and the Indus valley between 327–325 B.C. Although his efforts to establish control of northwestern India were unsuccessful, Hellenistic colonies in Bactria continued to flourish until the middle of the second century B.C. During this period, groups of Śakas and Kuṣāṇas began to migrate from different areas of Central Asia to the frontiers of South Asia. A synthesis of literary references, historical inscriptions, and archaeological material helps to trace their paths to India between the second century B.C. to second century A.D. Stray finds, petroglyphs, and graffiti inscriptions from the Upper Indus region of the Northern Areas of Pakistan illuminate early migration patterns and interactions between Central Asian, Iranian, Indian, and indigenous peoples. The cultural impact and religious patronage of the foreign migrants to South Asia stimulated the transmission of Buddhism along many of the same routes beyond the Indian subcontinent to Central Asia and China.

Saka/Śakas[5]

A broad array of nomadic and sedentary groups inhabiting the Central Asian steppes during th.e first millennium B.C. are called Scythians, Sakas, Śakas, and Sai or Se in ancient Greek, Iranian,

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[4] Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, translated by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2002), 173; Roland Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Haven, 1953), 137–138, 151.

[5] In this paper, the more original form "Saka" refers to groups of people classed as Sakas, Scythians, Sacae, Sai, or Se in Iranian, Greek, Latin, and Chinese sources, while the Sanskrit term "Śaka" refers to groups within the Indian subcontinent (for the sake of consistency with other contributions in the volume). As noted by Sten Konow, "The genuine form of the name is accordingly *Saka*, with a dental *s*, and the Indian *Śaka* looks like a popular etymology, connecting the name with the base *śak*, to be strong, powerful, able" (*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka* Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, part 1 [Calcutta, 1929], xvi). The term Saka appears in the Shahdaur Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Damijada (*damijadasa sakasa*) (Konow 1929, 16) and in text P of the Mathurā lion capital Kharoṣṭhī inscription (*sarvasa sak̲astanasa puyae*) (Konow 1929, 46–49). A Saka (Gāndhārī *sago*) engages in dialogue with a monk about the disappearance of the Buddha's teachings in a previous-birth story (pūrvayoga) preserved in an early Buddhist manuscript (Timothy Lenz, *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25* Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, vol. 3 [Seattle and London, 2003], 182–192).

Indian, and Chinese sources. These groups are localized from the Pontic steppe between the Danube and Don rivers north of the Black Sea to southern Siberia and western Mongolia. Continuities with earlier Bronze Age people and cultures such as the Late Srubna phase in areas west of the Urals and the Andronovo culture east of the Caspian Sea have been proposed and groups identified as Sakas or Scythians are often regarded as speakers of eastern Iranian languages.[6] However, as Richard Frye remarks in regard to Persian conceptions of groups called Sakas, "It was probably their mode of life rather than any ethnic or linguistic features which differentiated them from their settled neighbours . . ."[7] Archaeologists and art historians often associate the "Scythian triad" of abundant bronze and iron weapons, harnesses and other gear for riding horses, and so-called animal style art with broadly similar Eurasian nomadic cultures.[8] Burial mounds (*kurgans*) with the tombs of horsemen, women and children containing horses, gold jewelry, weapons, and other artifacts are also identified with Central Asian Sakas, although various funeral practices were often shared by different groups living in the same regions.[9] A brief review of relevant inscriptions, literary references, archaeological finds, art, and coins is intended to clarify historical and cultural contexts for the migrations of different groups of Sakas from Central Asia to South Asia.

Migration routes

Prior to their arrival in northwestern India, Sakas (as they are known in Iranian sources) appear in Old Persian inscriptions and monumental art of the Achaemenid empire as tributary neighbors. The Naqš-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I (reigning from 522–486 B.C.) distinguishes three groups of Sakas:

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[6] J.P. Mallory, "Archaeological models and Asian Indo-Europeans," in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Oxford, 2002), 19–42, esp. 23–30; Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (NewYork, 1987), 197–205.

[7] Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York, 1963), 65.

[8] Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge, 2002), 32, 42; Larisa R. Pavlinskaya, "The Scythians and Sakians, Eighth to Third Centuries B.C." in *Nomads of Eurasia*, ed. Vladimir Basilov (Seattle, 1989), 19.

[9] Di Cosmo 2002, 32, 40; Karl Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1967), 195–197; Pavlinskaya 1989, 30–31.

1) *Saka Paradraya* or Sakas "who are across the sea" inhabited the Pontic steppe areas north of the Black Sea.[10] The attempt by Darius I to conquer this group of Sakas around 513 B.C. is described at length by Herodotus (4.1–162), who also provides many fascinating (although not necessarily reliable) details about the lifestyle, economy, and religious beliefs of these Scythians (as they are known in Greek sources).[11]
2) *Saka Tigraxauda*, Sakas "wearing the pointed cap," probably inhabited areas in western Central Asia between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea.[12] A Saka chief (Skunkha) with a distinctive high pointed cap is depicted last in a line of rebellious supporters of Gaumāta subjugated by Darius I in 522–521 B.C. in a rock relief at Behistun and other *Saka Tigraxauda* are shown bearing tribute in the *apadana* (grand hall) at Persepolis.[13] Herodotus (7.64) describes Sakas or Scythians who were "clad in trousers" and had "on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point" among the Persian forces led by Xerxes during his invasion of Greece in 479/80 B.C., although he classifies them as Amyrgian Scythians.[14]
3) *Saka Haumavarga* are the "hauma-drinking" or "hauma-preparing" Sakas referred to as Amyrgian Scythians by Herodotus (7.64).[15] These Sakas originally seem to have been located in the regions around the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River), particularly in the Ferghana and Alai valleys in proximity to Sogdia.[16] However, Haumavarga Sakas were also likely to have settled in the southeastern Iranian

[10] Kent 1953, 138.

[11] Briant 2002, 141–143.

[12] Kent 1953, 186.

[13] Briant 2002, 124–127, fig. 8; 174–177, figs. 10–12; M.A. Dandamayev, "Media and Achaemenid Iran," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 2: The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250, ed. János Harmatta (Paris, 1994), 44, 56, figs. 2, 8.

[14] George Rawlinson, translator, *The Persian Wars of Herodotus* (New York, 1942), 524. The people listed by Herodotus (3.92) as *orthokorybantioi* (Greek: "pointed helmets") in the 10th satrapy of Media may also refer to *Sakā Tigraxaudā* (Frye 1963, 66).

[15] Kent 1953, 211–212.

[16] According to Frye, the Saka *haumavarga* ". . . inhabited the eastern part of Central Asia, probably from Ferghana into Chinese Turkestan" (1963, 66). L.V. P'iankov ("The Ethnic History of the Sakas," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1994 [but appearing in 1996]): 37–38 summarizes arguments for localizing the Amyrgians in Ferghana and the Alai valleys, but supports the view that this group migrated across the western Pamir mountains to Badakhshan and eventually to the eastern Iranian plateau and northwestern India in the second and first centuries B.C.

province of Drangiāna (around the Helmand valley) which later became known as Sakastān/Śakasthāna/Sejistān/Seistan following conflicts with the Parthians after the death of Mithradates I in 138 B.C.[17] Sakas from this region (on the borders between modern eastern Iran and southern Afghanistan) come to play important roles in the history of the Indian subcontinent in the first century B.C. and early centuries A.D.

In addition to Old Persian inscriptions and western classical literary sources, Chinese historical annals also refer to Saka migrations from Central Asia. Two texts in particular provide relevant information about the movements of Sakas and Kuṣāṇas from the western borderlands of China to South Asia: *Shi ji*, a general history of China dealing with periods contemporary with its preparation by Sima Tan and compilation by Sima Qian (148–86 B.C.), and *Han shu*, a later compilation started by Ban Biao (3–54 A.D.) and finished by Ban Gu (32–92 A.D.) and his daughter Ban Zhao (48–116 A.D.).[18] Information about the "Western Regions" (*Xiyu*) is typically limited to events which directly affected regional Chinese administrators and was selected to explain contemporary political conditions and to justify Chinese interventions in Central Asia.[19] References to the Sai

[17] Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*, translated by Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 1988 [original French edition from1958]), 448 [495] associates Saka Haumavarga with Drangiāna, but the specific paths and period of their migration from Central Asia are not clear. Frye's comment that the area around the Hamun Lake in the Helmand valley "is a land where the steppe and the sown are intermingled and nomads are on all sides of the lake which is large in winter while almost vanishing in the late summer" (1963, 72) supports a scenario in which different groups of Sakas came to this region through periodic seasonal migrations.

[18] François Thierry, "Yuezhi et Kouchans: Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises," in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, eds. Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (Turnhout, Belgium, 2005), 426. Thierry (2005, 427–428) dismisses the hypothesis that *Shi ji* chapter 123 is reconstructed from *Han shu* chapter 61 (M.A.N. Loewe, introduction to A.F.P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23—An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Leiden, 1979, 13–25). Since I am unable to read the original Chinese, I depend on the English translations of Hulsewé, Erik Zürcher ("The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in the Chinese Sources," in *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham, Leiden, 1968, 346–390), and Burton Watson (*Records of the Grand Historian of China, translated from the* Shih chi *of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 2 vols. New York and London, 1961). Craig Benjamin, "The Yuezhi and their Neighbours: Evidence for the Yuezhi in Chinese Sources c. 220–c. 25 B.C.E.," in *Silk Road Studies IV*, eds. David Christian and Craig Benjamin (Turnhout, Belgium, 2000), 105–159 is also useful.

[19] Thierry 2005, 422; Zürcher 1968, 349–350.

(or Se), Yuezhi, Xiongnu, and other groups sometimes indicate general paths and motivations for migrations across Central Asia during the second century B.C.[20] Sometime before 128 B.C., when the Han ambassador Zhang Qian arrived in the Oxus Valley to attempt to form an alliance with the Yuezhi against the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi had migrated from areas around Dunhuang to Bactria under pressure from the Xiongnu (see p. 80 ff).[21] According to passages in the *Han shu* (96A.10b, 96B.1b, 61.4b),[22] westward Yuezhi migrations to Bactria (Daxia) displaced the Sai from areas around the Ili Basin and Lake Issyk Kul (in modern Kyrgyzstan). All of these passages indicate that the "King of the Sai"[23] moved to the South, but *Han shu* 96B.1b specifies that this movement traversed the "suspended crossing" or "hanging passage" (*xuan du*), perhaps located between Chilas and Swat in the gorges of the Upper Indus River in modern Pakistan.[24] According to *Han shu* 96A.10b, the southward migration of the Sai tribes which had "split and repeatedly formed several states"[25] eventually led to their conquest of the country of Jibin, a territory which Chinese literary sources associate with Kashmir, Kapiśa (around modern Begram in Afghanistan), or Gandhāra in different periods.

[20] The Chinese character transliterated as Sai (Hulsewé 1979, 104, fn. 210) or Se (Thierry 2005, 451, fn. 39) was pronounced *sək/səg/seg, corresponding closely to Iranian Saka, Gāndhārī Saga, and Sanskrit Śaka. Gérard Fussman cautions that both Chinese and western classical sources do not clearly distinguish the Sai from Yuezhi, which in the Chinese sources are ". . . shifting confederations of tribes without any linguistic, ethnic (i.e. racial) and probably cultural, unity" ("Southern Bactria and Northern India before Islam: A Review of Archaeological Reports," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116, 1996, 252).

[21] The mission of Zhang Qian to the Yuezhi is recounted in *Shiji* chapter 123 with a description of the Yuezhi, but without reference to Sai migrations (Watson 1961, 2. 264–289).

[22] For *Han shu* 96A.10b, see Benjamin 2000, 139 (quoting the translation of Hulsewé), Hulsewé 1979, 104–105, Thierry 2005, 521, and Zürcher 1968, 363; for *Han shu* 96B.1b, see Benjamin 2000, 125, Hulsewé 1979, 144, Thierry 2005, 509, and Zürcher 1968, 366–367; for *Han shu* 61.4b, see Hulsewé 1979, 216 and Thierry 2005, 507.

[23] "King of the Sai" (*sai-wang*) is probably a Chinese equivalent to Śaka title *muruṇḍa* in the Zeda Kharoṣṭhī inscription, Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā, and the Allāhabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, according to Konow (1929, xx).

[24] An account of the routes taken by Han envoys to Jibin vividly describes the difficulties of the "suspended crossing" (Hulsewé, 1979, 110–111). Aurel Stein ("From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus," *Geographical Journal* 100.2, 1942, 49–56) and Karl Jettmar ("The 'Suspended Crossing'—Where and Why?" in *India and the Ancient World: History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650*, ed. Gilbert Pollet, Leuven, 1987, 95–101) locate the "Suspended Crossing" in the gorge of the Upper Indus southwest of Shatial.

[25] Hulsewé 1979, 105.

Although the description of Jibin in the *Han shu* as a "low and damp" land with a temperate climate seems to fit Gandhāra better than the mountain valleys of Kashmir or Afghanistan,[26] the information about this distant borderland of the "Western Regions" on the other side of the "suspended crossing" ruled by acephalous groups of Sai is rather vague. Since Persian, Greek, and Chinese primary sources typically lack firsthand knowledge of the people called Sakas, Scythians, or Sai living in the peripheral borderlands of their empires or adjacent countries, the value of these limited references is for the most part confined to events or movements which affected their own frontiers.

Since literary sources do not clearly describe how Śakas arrived in the Indian subcontinent, itineraries for their migrations remain conjectural. The secondary scholarly literature suggests that two or possibly three groups of Śakas entered South Asia in overlapping independent migrations during the second and first centuries B.C.[27]

1) Śakas from the north (Xinjiang) followed routes through the Pamir and Karakoram mountains to Swat and Gandhāra.
2) Śakas under pressure from the Yuezhi in Bactria crossed the Hindu Kush in northern Afghanistan to Taxila and the Panjab.
3) Śakas coming from the southwest (Seistan in southeastern Iran and Arachosia around Kandahar in southern Afghanistan) took control of Śakadvīpa (modern Sindh in southern Pakistan), and expanded to Gujarat and western India.

The hypothesis of gradual migrations by various groups of Śakas coming from the north over the Pamir and Karakoram mountains across interconnected series of passes and river valleys is endorsed

[26] Hulsewé 1979, 105–106.

[27] Secondary literature on Śaka migrations to South Asia includes Jean Filliozat and Louis Renou, *L'Inde classique: Manuel des études indiennes*, vol. 1, part 1, chapter 4, (Paris, 1947), 228–230; Konow 1929, xxxi; Lamotte 1988 [1958], 448–452; John Marshall, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila Under the Orders of the Government of India Between the Years 1913 and 1934*, vol. 1, (Cambridge, 1951), 44; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford, 1957), 133–142; E.J. Rapson, "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders," *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1: Ancient India, ed. E.J. Rapson, (Cambridge, 1922), 508–536; John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 121–137; Robert Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania and London, 2001), 1.7–13; Laszlo Torday, *Mounted Archers: The Beginnings of Central Asian History* (Durham, 1997), 360–382.

by many scholars, despite the difficult topography.[28] Śakas (*Sai* or *Se* in *Han shu* passages cited above) may have followed these routes on their southward passage to Jibin. A.K. Narain proposes that Śakas followed a direct route from Kashgar and Tashkurgan in southwestern Xinjiang and crossed mountain passes to Gilgit before reaching the "Suspended Crossing."[29] Stray archeological finds and 'animal style' petroglyphs support this hypothesis (see p. 64 ff.).

Śakas may have also arrived in the northwestern frontiers of South Asia by crossing the Hindu Kush after conflicts with the Yuezhi, Graeco-Bactrians, and Parthians. Sten Konow suggests:

> [I]t may be surmised that the Sai-Wang exodus was the beginning of the Scythian pressure on the Greek empire in Bactria, and it is a curious fact that it seems to coincide with the Indian conquests of Demetrius which may, or may not, be due to a desire for strengthening his position in another direction.[30]

Śakas have been identified with the *Sacarauloi/Saraucae* who were among the groups of nomads listed by Strabo [based on Apollodorus] and Justin [based on Pompeius Trogus] which caused the downfall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms in the second century B.C.[31] After Graeco-Bactrians vacated Aï Khanoum around 145 B.C., Śakas and other groups of nomads may have replaced them. However, mass migrations of Śakas from Bactria across the Hindu Kush (through central Afghanistan) to Gandhāra and Taxila seem unlikely since the Indo-Greek successors of the Graeco-Bactrians maintained control of Kapiśa during the second century B.C. Although a Śaka conquest

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[28] Śaka migrations directly from the north are favored by Ahmad Hasan Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, 2nd ed., (Islamabad, 1989), 119; Gérard Fussman, "Inscriptions de Gilgit," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 65 (1978): 3–4; Karl Jettmar, "The Art of the Northern Nomads in the Upper Indus Valley," *South Asian Studies* 7 (1991): 5; Boris Litvinskij, "Pamir und Gilgit—Kulturhistorische Verbindungen," in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan*, vol. 2, ed. Karl Jettmar (Mainz, 1993), 147; and Narain 1957, 135–138. Rapson (1922, 508–509) denies that a "direct invasion from the north" took place due to the "physical impossibility" of this route.

[29] Narain 1957, 135.

[30] Konow 1929, xxii.

[31] References by Strabo (11.8.2) to the *Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi*, and *Sacarauloi* and by Justin (41) to the *Saraucae* and *Asiani* are discussed by Filliozat 1947, 228; Konow 1929, xxi–xxii; Lamotte 1988 [1958], 450; Narain 1957, 131–134, and Torday 1997, 283–286. Narain (1957, 133) observes that Strabo and other classical authors were unclear about distinctions between various groups of nomads.

of Bactria is not necessarily proven,[32] the end of Graeco-Bactrian rule and migrations to northwestern India by loosely related groups of Śakas and other Central Asians over several decades or generations to South Asia were probably related to instability in the region during the second century B.C.

Saka migrations to Seistan and Arachosia led to conflicts and eventual accommodations with the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia between c. 130–80 B.C. The Arsacid ruler Phraates II, who succeeded his father Mithradates I in 138 B.C., died during a campaign against the Sakas (who inhabited the eastern borderlands of Parthia), according to an account preserved in the universal history of Justin (42.1–2). Antagonistic relations with the Arsacids continued until Sakas in southeastern Iran (Seistan) acknowledged the nominal control of a Parthian Suren during the reign of Mithradates II (123–88 B.C.).[33] After this accommodation with their Arsacid rivals, Sakas from Seistan reached the neighboring territory of Arachosia (modern Kandahar in southeastern Afghanistan), and continued to migrate through the Bolan and Mulla passes of modern Baluchistan to the lower Indus valley.[34] This region (modern Sindh in southern Pakistan) was known in Sanskrit purāṇas as Śakadvīpa or Śākadvīpa ("Śaka continent")[35] and may have served as a base for further expansion to Gujarat and western India, where the Kṣaharāta and Kārdamaka lines of Western Kṣatrapas continued to rule until the fourth century A.D. (p. 75 ff.)

Material Evidence for Śaka Migrations

Śakas coming from Xinjiang, Bactria, and Seistan to the Indian subcontinent left material traces of their migrations in the form of burial sites (*kurgans*), archaeological artifacts, and petroglyphs. The "Oxus

[32] W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1951), 283 ff.

[33] Lamotte 1988 [1958], 451–452; Narain 1957, 140–141. Indo-Parthian Surens later expanded their control of Seistan and Arachosia to Gandhāra, Taxila, and the area around Jammu during the reign of Gondophares in the middle of the first century A.D. Also see Michael Alram, "Indo-Parthian and early Kushan chronology: the numismatic evidence," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Vienna, 1999), 37.

[34] Konow 1929, xxxi; Lamotte 1988 [1958], 451–2; Rosenfield 1967, 123; Tarn 1951, 320.

[35] Dinesh Chandra Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed. (Delhi, 1971), 24–25.

treasure" found in Bactria (in southern Tajikistan near the site of Takht-i Sangin) in 1877–1888 includes many objects which demonstrate close affinities with Central Asian artistic traditions, particularly in the style of animal representations and ornamentation, and with Achaemenid art.[36] Gold ornaments from a burial mound at Tillia-tepe (outside of Shibarghān in northern Afghanistan) excavated in 1978–1979 and dating between the second half of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D. apparently belong to a Śaka-Parthian milieu.[37] Gold pendants from burials at Tillia-tepe depict a female figure identified as a "Mistress of Animals,"[38] perhaps a river goddess connected with narratives about the aquatic origins of Scythian royalty. Various forms of this motif appear in Scythian art from Ukraine, Kirghiz textiles, Sogdian wall paintings from Panjikent, and stone palettes from Gandhāra and Taxila.[39] Material evidence for a Śaka presence in Bactria reflected in artistic motifs and styles of the "Oxus treasure" and gold ornaments from Tillya-tepe is probably much more extensive. These discoveries (if not their broader ramifications for clarifying Śaka migration routes) are already well-known, but stray finds from northern Pakistan which support alternative paths for Śaka migrations have not received as much attention.

Material evidence for Śaka migrations through the Karakoram mountains of northern Pakistan lacks the context of archaeological excavations, but several important stray finds corroborate the hypothesis of a gradual migration from the north via interconnected valleys. Copper and bronze vessels found in 1940 near Imit in the Ishkoman valley northwest of Gilgit demonstrate affinities with objects from Śaka burial sites in the Pamir mountains and with Hellenistic motifs perhaps imported from ancient Bactria.[40] V.I. Litvinskij noticed

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[36] O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus, with other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work*, 3rd ed. (London, 1964 [1st ed. 1905, 2nd ed. 1926]) ; Jettmar 1967, 194, pls. 30–32, 48, 49; Véronique Schiltz, *Les Scythes et les nomads des steppes: VIII^e siècle avant J.-C.—1^er siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1994), 303–308.

[37] G.A. Pugachenkova and L.I. Rempel, "Gold from Tillia-tepe," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 5 (1991): 11–13. The authors dispute the association of the Tillia-tepe mound with a Yuezhi necropolis, as proposed by V.I. Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold from the Excavations of the Tillya-tepe Necropolis in Northern Afghanistan* (Leningrad, 1985), 17–18.

[38] Pugachenkova and Rempel 1991, 14–16, figs. 1–3; Sarianidi 1985, pls. 44–50.

[39] Martha Carter, "A Scythian Royal Legend from Ancient Uḍḍiyāna," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 6 (1992): 67–78.

[40] The finds from Imit were first reported by Aurel Stein, "Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1944): 14–16, pl. IIIa,

that a small bronze cauldron from Imit with two handles and a protoma in the shape of a horse's head are very similar to bronze vessels with animal head shaped handles or spouts from fourth to third century B.C. settlements and *kurgans* at Poršnëv, Charguš, and Aličur in the Pamir region of southern Tajikistan.[41] The other object from Imit is a bronze rhyton with a spout in the shape of a centaur holding an ibex (Fig. 3.1).[42] The combination of the Hellenistic centaur and an ibex (a common animal motif in Scythian art)[43] indicates that this region of northern Pakistan was ". . . rather tangentially in touch with the Hellenistic Greek world, in this case probably Greek Bactria, but more committed to nomad animal arts."[44] Although Aurel Stein originally estimated that the rhyton belonged to the Kuṣāṇa period, John Boardman and V.I. Litvinskij suggest a range of dates between the third–first centuries B.C. An inscribed silver Buddhist reliquary (formed by two goblets joined together) with the figure of an ibex joined to the top is similar in style and function, since it was originally used as a drinking vessel belonging to King Kharaosta (Fig. 3.2).[45] Stylistic and chronological correlations between the animal figures on copper and bronze vessels from the Ishkoman valley in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, objects from *kurgans* in the Pamir mountains of Tajikistan, and silver goblets transformed into a Buddhist reliquary

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and their significance is discussed by John Boardman in *The Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, eds. Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb (Cambridge, 1992), 88–90, nos. 95–96; Fussman 1978, 3–4; Karl Jettmar, "Rock-carvings and Stray Finds in the Mountains of Northern Pakistan: Archaeology before Excavation," in *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, ed. Maurizio Taddei (Naples, 1979), vol. 2, 921–925, fig. 5.1, 6; 1991, 10, figs. 1, 14; Litvinskij 1993.

[41] Litvinskij 1993, 141–143, ills. 1–7.

[42] Errington and Cribb 1992, 20, no. 95, 88–9; Stein 1944, 14–15, pl. IIIa.

[43] Examples include Basilov 1989, 12–13; Emma Bunker, C. Bruce Chatwin, and Ann R. Farkas, *"Animal Style" Art from East to West* (New York, 1970), 66, no. 39; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (New York, 1975), pl. 26, no. 144; Esther Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians* (Leiden, 1995) 167, Fig. 37, 190–191, Fig. 74, 249, Fig. 113; Jettmar 1967, 33–36, Fig. 8, 197, Fig. 122; Boris Piotrovsky, Liudmila Galanina, and Nonna Grach, *Scythian Art* (Leningrad, 1987), nos. 21, 72, 73.

[44] Boardman in Errington and Cribb 1992, 89.

[45] Richard Salomon, "An Inscribed Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116.3 (1996): 419, fig. 1. The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the reliquary indicate that the drinking vessel formerly owned by Yabgu-King (*yagu-raṃña*) Kharaosta was later used for depositing Buddhist relics by the Apraca Prince Indravarman. Both Indo-Scythian officials are known from coins and inscriptions of the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D.

help to map paths for Śaka migrations from neighboring regions of Central Asia to the northwestern frontiers of India.

Additional stray finds from northern Pakistan may belong to the period of Śaka migrations through the upper Indus valley in the centuries before the Common Era. Based on a bronze plaque decorated with an ibex having its shoulders and rear legs in an s-shaped spiral (a characteristic feature of Śaka style artifacts from Pamir *kurgans*) from the Kandia valley between Shatial on the upper Indus and the headwaters of the Swat River, Karl Jettmar proposes that routes led directly from the Pamir region across passes of the Wakhan corridor in northeastern Afghanistan to this area of northwestern Pakistan (Fig. 3.3).[46] Another important stray find from Pattan on the upper Indus River in Pakistani Kohistan of a gold bangle and a large gold ring broken into 57 fragments (weighing over 16 kg) and profusely decorated with animals and humans in hunting scenes also belongs to the realm of Śaka ornamentation.[47] Recent explorations and surveys by Pakistani archaeologists of the Yasin, Ishkoman, Darel, and Tangir valleys of northern Pakistan have uncovered bronze hairpins, knives, and other objects decorated with animal figures in poses and shapes characteristic of Śaka art.[48] It is very likely that more materials demonstrating links with *kurgans* across the passes to the Pamirs will emerge when early burial sites marked by circles of large stone

[46] Jettmar 1991, 6; Karl Jettmar and Volker Thewalt, *Zwischen Gandhāra und den Seidenstrassen: Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway* (Mainz, 1985), Photo 10, Plate 7.

[47] Jettmar 1991, 11–17; Saeedur Rahman, "Unique Find of Gold Ornaments from Pattan/Kohistan," (with a note by A.H. Dani), *Journal of Central Asia* 13.1 (1990): 5–17, pls. I–XV; Doris M. Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes: Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art* (Leiden, 1997), 301. A gold armlet decorated with a pair of grappling felines in the Peshawar Museum (Jettmar 1967, 133, pl. 33; Srinivasan 1997, 301, pl. 20.28) may demonstrate further "linkages" between the Śakas of Central Asia and South Asia.

[48] Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Origin of the Dardic Culture: A New Discovery in the Northern Areas of Pakistan," *Journal of Central Asia* 31.1 (1998): 158, 169–170, pls. 11–13; *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan (up to 2000 A.D.)*, 3rd ed. (Lahore, 2001), 424, pls. 55.4, 56.3, 58.4. Figures include a somewhat crude "animal style" representation of a crouching felid found at Daeen in the Ishkoman valley and *capridi* on an "arrow head" and a hair pin, adorsed deer, a peacock (?), and a snake from Ges between Gilgit and Chilas on the Indus River. Bronze objects without reported provenance include a pair of knives with *caprid* and s-shaped designs on the handles and "typical heads of hairpins, the lower part missing" with an image of "two birds on either side of standing man" (Dani 1998, 158; 2001, 424). This last image may instead resemble the figure identified as a "Mistress of Animals" perhaps representing a Saka river goddess on gold pendants from Tillia-tepe. I am grateful to Martin Bemmann of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften for these published references.

slabs which have been noticed since the nineteenth century in these mountain valleys of northern Pakistan are excavated.[49]

Among a vast corpus of approximately 30,000 petroglyphs clustered along the upper Indus River and its tributaries are some examples which exhibit features of the so-called animal style often associated with Scythian art. 'Animal style' is a "rather ambiguous term" used since the 1920s to describe a "quasi-international manner of decoration which flourished from China to Ireland."[50] Since "Animal Style art is the result of a cultural unity which endured for a long period of time over a large area among diversified ethnic groups,"[51] stylistic considerations alone do not necessarily indicate Scythian presence or influence. According to Jettmar, a mature form of animal style art which was 'responsive to contact' developed in the Iranian plateau (particularly at Ziwiye) in the eighth century B.C. and continued to develop during the Achaemenid and following periods.[52] Śakas and other groups migrating from Iran and Central Asia were responsible for transmitting variants of this style across the Eurasian steppes during the following centuries. The appearance of typical Śaka animal style features in relatively early layers of rock drawings in northern Pakistan does not prove that these drawings were created by migrating Śakas in a definite time frame since such patterns seem to have persisted and to have been adopted by non-Śakas.[53]

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[49] A.H. Dani (1998, 156), who refers to earlier reports of so-called megalithic burials, lists additional burial sites and gives a brief account of an excavation by Nazir A. Khan of a grave complex at the site of Duran Sor near Daeen in the Ishkoman valley in 1996–1997.

[50] Bunker et al. 1970, 13. Bunker attributes the coinage of the term "Animal Style" to M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922) and *The Animal Style in South Russia and China* (Princeton, 1929), but observes that "Most of the literature on the subject has been made obsolete by new archaeological discoveries" (1970, 13).

[51] Bunker et al. (1970, 13).

[52] Jettmar 1967, 233.

[53] Karl Jettmar remarks that "stylistic approach alone would favor the conclusion that the carvings were made between the 5th and 2nd century B.C." (1991, 5), but stresses that local inhabitants subsequently transformed and adopted "retarded" (or anachronistic) animal style motifs and patterns as "heraldic symbols" to express ethnic and social identity. This hypothesis to explain the survival of animal style features in petroglyphs belonging to chronological contexts later than the period of Śaka migrations in the 2nd–1st century B.C. is elaborated by Jettmar in several publications, including "Animal Style—A Heraldic System in the Indus Valley," *Pakistan Archaeology* 24 (1989): 257–277 [authorship is incorrectly attributed to Harald Hauptmann] and (with Völker Thewalt) *Zwischen Gandhāra und den Seidenstrassen: Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway* (Mainz, 1985), 13–15 (in English translation, *Between Gandhāra and the Silk Roads: Rock-carvings along the Karakorum Highway*, Islamabad, 1991).

However, the survival of recognizable motifs and patterns suggests long-lasting Śaka cultural impact in this transit zone where descendants of Śakas may have continued to draw images of different styles and types of zoomorphs, a category which comprises about two-thirds of the petroglyphs.[54] In petroglyphs from northern Pakistan characteristic animal style features and motifs include muscular bodies composed of s-shaped spirals (as in the bronze plaque from the Kandia valley), predation of wild animals (typically *capridi*), animals in kneeling postures with the legs bent underneath, long tails ending in hooks, hooves with sharp points, and a tendency towards distinctive naturalistic vitality.[55] At Chilas Bridge (where elaborate Buddhist petroglyphs are much more prominent), there are two animal style scenes depicting a *caprinus* (perhaps an ibex) pursued by a *felid* (possibly a snow leopard) (Fig. 3.4).[56] Several animal style petroglyphs are found across the Indus River at Thalpan on a large stone called the "Altar Rock" which also has elaborate images of Achaemenid-type soldiers and animals as well as Buddhist *stūpas*, jātaka scenes and Buddha figures.[57] Animal style petroglyphs are located at other sites along the upper Indus River downstream from Chilas at Hodar,[58] Dadam Das,[59] and Minargah.[60] Although the number of petroglyphs which can definitely be classified as examples of animal style at each of these sites is relatively small, their proportion is more significant relative to the earlier stratum of rock drawings

[54] Ditte König, "Zu den Tierdarstellungen auf den Felsen am Oberen Indus," in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan*, vol. 3, eds. Gérard Fussman and Karl Jettmar (Mainz, 1994), 73–171.

[55] Representative examples are published by Jettmar (1989 [outlines], 1991 [color pls. 4–7]) and Ditte Bandini-König, Martin Bemmann, and Harald Hauptmann, "Rock Art in the Upper Indus Valley," in *The Indus: Cradle and Crossroads of Civilizations—Pakistani-German Archaeological Research* (Islamabad, 1997), 54–55, Figs. 1–6.

[56] Ditte Bandini-König, *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan I: Kataloge Chilas-Brücke und Thalpan (Steine 1–30)*, Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans [hereafter MANP] 6 (Mainz, 2003), 23, 91, nos. 13:A, 69:A, pls. 38, XIIIc; Jettmar and Thewalt 1985, Photo 8, Plate 6.

[57] Bandini-König 2003, 122–123 (Scene 30:CC, 30:DD, pls. 89, XXVIIIb), 152–153 (nos. 30:228–233), 161–162 (no. 30:312), 166 (no. 30:363), 167 (no. 30:379, pl. XXXIIIa).

[58] Ditte Bandini-König, *Die Felsbildstation Hodar*, MANP 3 (Mainz, 1999), 206, no. 26:13, pl. 60.

[59] Bandini-König, et al. 1997, 55, fig. 6; Martin Bemmann, *Die Felsbildstation Dadam Das*, MANP 5 (Mainz, 2005).

[60] Bandini-König, et al. 1997, 55, figs. 2, 5; Jettmar 1989, 262–264, figs. 76–78; 1991, 5, fig. 4.

belonging to periods during the first millennium B.C. (before the "Buddhist period" of Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions in the early to middle first millennium A.D.). Therefore, rock drawings with animal style imagery provide additional support (not conclusive in itself, but very likely in conjunction with stray finds and literary references) for Śaka migrations in northern Pakistan in the late centuries B.C. and first centuries A.D.

Manifestations and Cultural Impact of Śakas in South Asia

Śaka migrations along routes through northern Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran profoundly affected South Asian political and cultural history during the first century B.C. and first century A.D. Inscriptions and coins with legends in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī, and Brāhmī writing provide very important primary evidence for the impact of Śakas (or "Indo-Scythians") in the northwestern and western Indian subcontinent. Iranian or hybrid Indo-Iranian names and titles written in inscriptions and coin legends attest to the power of various Śaka rulers and religious patrons in Gandhāra, Taxila, Mathurā, Gujarat, and Ujjayinī. Resolving chronological debates about eras instituted by Śakas and other foreign dynasties or reconstructing disputed lines of succession is beyond the scope of this contribution. Nevertheless, placing recent epigraphic and numismatic advances in broader historical and cultural contexts helps to better understand the various phases and channels for manifestations of the presence of Śakas in pre-Kuṣāṇa India.

One of the earliest Śaka rulers in the northwestern Indian subcontinent was named Maues (or Moa/Moga) in bilingual Greek and Kharoṣṭhī coin legends and in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Taxila. The reign of Maues is usually placed in the chronological context of the early first century B.C. based on numismatic sequences.[61] His origins are obscure, since it is unclear whether he was connected with Śakas from Seistan or with Śakas from the north who migrated

[61] Rosenfield 1967, 126 has Maues ruling in Taxila c. 75 B.C. since his coins succeed those of the Indo-Greek rulers Antialcidas and Telephus. Osmund Bopearachchi, "Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on Pre-Kushana Chronology," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Vienna, 1999), 124 follows G.K. Jenkins, "Indo-Scythic mints," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 17 (1955): 1–26, in placing Maues in Taxila c. 90–80 B.C. since his coins were overstruck by issues of Apollodotus, and the coins of Hippostratus (the successor of Apollodotus) were overstruck by Azes. Also see Senior (2001, 1.25–38, 2.1–6) for further discussion of additional numismatic evidence.

through the Pamir and Karakoram mountains to Gandhāra and Taxila. The main argument for linking Maues with the Śakas of Seistan is that he assumed the royal title "King of Kings" following the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C.[62] However, since coins of Maues are more commonly found in Taxila, Hazara, Gandhāra, and the Swat valley rather than in Seistan, Archosia, or the Kabul/Begram region, Maues (or his predecessors) seems more likely to have come from the North, perhaps during the second century B.C.[63] A Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a copper plate from Taxila which records the establishment of Buddhist relics by a donor named Patika, the son of the Kṣatrapa (Satrap) Liaka Kusulaka, is dated in year 78 of (or during the reign of) "Mahārāja Moga the Great" (*mahayarasa mahaṃtasa mogasa*).[64] A precise date can not be determined because the initial year of the era remains uncertain, and it is unclear whether the date refers to an era initiated by Moga/Maues (and still used 78 years later during the time of Liaka Kusulaka and Patika, probably in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D.) or to an earlier era while he was still ruling (in which case Liaka Kusulaka and Patika were his contemporary subordinates).[65] Irregardless of the date, the

[62] Konow 1929, xxix–xxxi; Rapson 1922, 513.

[63] A.D.H. Bivar, "Maues at Taxila: Problems of his Arrival-Route and Political Allegiance," *Journal of Central Asia* 7.1 (1984): 14 suggests that Maues led a peaceful migration of Śakas to the area around Taxila and gained control from Indo-Greek rulers during a civil crisis. An origin of Maues in the north is also supported by Narain (1957, 145 ff.), who proposes that Maues moved southwards from Hazara and Swat to Gandhāra and Taxila. Fussman distinguishes Śakas led by Maues migrating across the Pamirs from other groups of Śakas affiliated with the Azes dynasty and from the Indo-Parthians in Arachosia and Seistan ("*Upāya-kauśalya:* L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra," in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales: Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*, eds. Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman, Paris, 1994: 32). The identification of the name of Moga in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions at Chilas II by A.H. Dani, *Chilas, the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)* (Islamabad, 1983), 62–64, 96–102, nos. 72, 78; 1989: 119–121 is not reliable evidence for Śaka migrations, since these readings are rejected by Gérard Fussman ("Les inscriptions Kharoṣṭhī de la plaine de Chilas," in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan*, vol. 1, ed. Karl Jettmar, Mainz,1989, 18, no. 9,7, pl. 20; 23, no. 13,4, pl. 26, 29).

[64] Konow 1929, 23–29, no. XIII, pl. V.1

[65] Harry Falk argues that Maues initiated his own era sometime before the beginning of the era of Azes in 58/7 B.C. perhaps to assert rival dynastic claims during a time of decline ("Frühe Zeitrechnung in Indien," in *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie*, ed. Harry Falk, Bremen, 2002, 87–88). Richard Salomon considers the possibility that year 78 could belong to the Indo-Greek era of 186/5 B.C. (resulting in a date corresponding to 108/7 B.C.), but admits that this hypothesis "stretches the bounds of likelihood" ("The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription," in *Afghanistan: Ancien Carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, eds. Osmund Bopearachchi

inscription indicates that Śaka officials (*kṣatrapas*) like Liaka Kusulaka acknowledged the importance of Moga either as a distant predecessor by using his era (although this inscription would be the only evidence of its persistence) or as a contemporary overlord.

Azes (Aya in Kharoṣṭhī) was another powerful Śaka ruler in the Northwest who initiated a dynastic era beginning in 58/7 B.C. which later became identified with the so-called Vikrama era still used in South Asia.[66] Aside from inscriptions dated in the Azes era issued long after his reign, knowledge about Azes and his successors (Azilises and Azes II) comes from their widespread coins.[67] Like Maues, Azes used the title of "King of Kings" and adopted iconographic elements of Greek, Iranian, and Indian gods and goddesses similar to those found on coins of contemporary Indo-Parthian and Indo-Greek rulers.[68] From the distribution of coins and coin-types, it seems fairly clear that the family of Azes must have been linked with Śakas migrating across the Hindu Kush or coming from Seistan, since Azes issued coins jointly with Spalirises, an Indo-Parthian official in Arachosia.[69] Azes expanded his dominion to Taxila and other areas of northwestern Pakistan and India as Indo-Greek power in territories of central Afghanistan and eastern Panjab rapidly diminished

and Marie-Françoise Boussac, Turnhout, Belgium, 2005, 372). Tarn (1951, 494–502) proposed that a "first Saca era" beginning c. 155 B.C. would place the Taxila copper plate c. 77 B.C. Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka: Ère d'Eucratides, ère d'Azes, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniṣka," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 67 (1980): 35 ff. prefers dating this inscription according to the "Ère d'Eucratides" beginning in 172 B.C.

[66] Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages* (New York, 1998), 182 briefly explains the use of the Azes/Vikrama era in Indian inscriptions. Although there is no irrefutable proof that Azes established this popular reckoning system, Salomon concludes: "Still, despite these lingering uncertainties, I think we should continue to accept the widely favored equation of the Azes and Vikrama eras . . ." (2005, 370). Falk 2002, 85–87 observes that the era of Azes, the oldest stable Indian era, is a "creation in hindsight" (Schöpfung im Nachhinein) first attested long after the reign of Azes in the Indravarman casket dated in year 63 (5/6 A.D.).

[67] Osmund Bopearachchi and Aman ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan* (Karachi, 1995), 170–199; Michael Mitchener, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol. 6: The Dynasty of Azes (London, 1976); Rosenfield, 1967, 127–129, pls. XIV– XV; Senior 2001, 1.65–87, 2.31–118, 3.12–37.

[68] Mitchener 1976: 6.481 ff., Rosenfield 1967, 127, pl. XIV, coins 269–272

[69] Osmund Bopearachchi and Wilfried Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1998), 260, pl. 51, coin 246; Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, 168–169, coins 702–703; Rosenfield 1967, 127; Senior 2001, 1.42–43.

during the second half of the first century B.C. Azilises and Azes II continued to expand and consolidate Śaka dominion in the northwestern Indian subcontinent in the early first century A.D. through relationships with regional rulers.

The Apracas (or Avacas) acknowledged the authority of the Azes dynasty by using the older dynastic era beginning in 58/7 B.C. in their Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.[70] Since many of these inscriptions record donations of Buddhist relics and the establishment or renovation of *stūpas*, Apraca officials and their wives acted as patrons of Buddhism. The Apraca commander (*stratega*) Aśpavarma, who issued coins jointly with Azes II and the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares, is also known from a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a silver saucer found at Taxila (Sirkap) and appears as a character in a Buddhist avadāna summary preserved in Kharoṣṭhī manuscript fragments.[71] Although the materials associated with the Apracas lack specific provenance (except for the inscribed saucer and coins of Aśpavarma from Taxila and a reliquary inscription from Shinkot in Bajaur), their sphere of influence probably extended to Swat, Gandhāra, Taxila, and parts of eastern Afghanistan in the early decades of the first century A.D.

A loosely affiliated network of Śaka families controlled the "northern route" (*uttarāpatha*) between Taxila and Mathurā in the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the Mathurā lion capital demonstrate links between Śakas in Gandhāra and Taxila and Śakas in Mathurā, although an interpretation of "one of the most vexing historical documents imaginable" is challenging.[72] The main inscription commemorates the establishment of Buddhist relics and donation of a *stūpa* and monastery to a Sarvāstivāda monastic community by the "chief queen" (*agramaheṣi*) of Mahākṣatrapa Rajula, the "Great Satrap" of Mathurā in the late first century B.C.

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[70] Salomon 2005, 385 (Appendix 2: The inscriptions of the Apraca kings) lists 15 Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Apracas with references to selected publications. Falk 2002, 85–7 discusses the use of the Azes era by the Apracas. For Apraca coins, see Senior 2001, 1.89–94, 2.136–143.

[71] Marshall 1951, 1.188, 2.613; Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (London/Seattle 1999), 145–150.

[72] Rosenfield 1967, 133–134; Konow 1929, 30–49, no. 15, pls. VI–IX; Dinesh Chandra Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. 1, 2nd rev. ed. (Calcutta, 1965), 114–119, no. 24, pls. XVII–XXII. Many points in the reading and interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription(s) on the Mathurā lion capital remain unresolved. A new edition of the Mathurā lion capital Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is a desideratum, but is beyond the scope of this article.

The Mathurā lion capital inscriptions twice refer to Kharaosta, a relative of Rajula's chief queen (probably her father), as an 'heir apparent' (*yuvaraña/yuvaraya* for Sanskrit *yuvarāja*).[73] Kharaosta is also known as Kṣatrapa Kharaosta, son of Arṭa, in Greek/Kharoṣṭhī coins legends from the northwestern Panjab and as "Yagu-king" (*yaguraña* for **yabgu-rāja*) Kharayosta, son of (an unnamed) Mahākṣatrapa, in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a silver goblet which was rededicated as a Buddhist reliquary by the Apraca Prince Indravarma.[74] One of the other Śaka officials listed as a benefactor of the merit of the donation was Mahākṣatrapa Kusulu(k)a Patika, the donor of Buddhist relics in the Taxila copper plate inscription when his father Liaka Kusuluka was Kṣatrapa.[75] While Kharaosta was probably elevated from heir apparent (*yuvarāja*) after the event commemorated by the Mathurā lion capital Kharoṣṭhī inscription, Patika had obviously achieved his position as a contemporary Mahākṣatrapa (presumably of Taxila and the surrounding area) after the time of the Taxila copper plate inscription. Kṣatrapa Śuḍasa, the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rajula in the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions, is later referred to as Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa in Brāhmī inscriptions and coins from Mathurā. The *āyāgapaṭa* inscription of Amohinī was written while Śoḍāsa was reigning as Mahākṣatrapa in year 72, a date corresponding to 15 A.D. if reckoned according to the Azes/Vikrama era,[76] which could provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions. One of the inscriptions written on the bottom of the Mathurā lion capital (text P in Konow's edition) includes "all of Sakastan" (*sarvasa sak̲astanasa puyae*) in a patchwork formula listing the beneficiaries sharing in the merit of the donation.[77] This unusual geographical

[73] Salomon 1996, 439–440 supports Konow's hypothesis that Kharaosta was the father-in-law (rather than son or grandson) of Rajula, but the phrasing of the beginning of the inscription is ambiguous. According to Konow (1929, xxxv, 36), the title of *yuvarāja* may indicate that Kharayosta was heir to Maues (instead of Mahākṣatrapa Rajula), but this relationship is uncertain. Lamotte (1988, 459) and Marshall (1951, 1.55) regard Kharaosta as the successor to Patika in the northwestern Punjab.

[74] Salomon 1996, 438–443; Falk 2002, 86, fn. 11 suggests correcting *yagurañо* to *egarañо*, but the reading is clear.

[75] Konow 1929, 23–29, no. 13, pl. V.1

[76] This reading and interpretation of the date in year 72 is generally accepted (Sircar 1965, 120–121, no. 25), but the era is not specified and "some lingering doubts remain, and a date in the year 42, equivalent to about 15 B.C. is not entirely out of the question for the Mathurā *āyāgapaṭa*" (Salomon 2005, 372).

[77] Konow 1929, 46–47; Sircar 1965, 118–119; F.W. Thomas, "The Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital," *Epigraphia Indica* 9 (1907–1908): 146–147.

reference may reflect a migration of the Mathurā Kṣatrapas from Seistan and adjacent regions in southeastern Iran and southern Afghanistan. However, it seems just as likely that the Śaka dominions ruled by Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas in northwestern India from Mathurā to Taxila could have been regarded as Sakastan.[78]

By the middle of the first century A.D. regionally powerful Śaka Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas shifted their allegiance to the Indo-Parthian Mahārāja Gondophares.[79] Based on the distribution of coins produced in different mints, Gondophares expanded the territory of his realm from Seistan and Arachosia to Gandhāra, Taxila, and the area around Jammu in the western Panjab.[80] A Kharoṣṭhī inscription reportedly from Takht-i-Bāhī and dated in his twenty-sixth regnal year and in year 103 of an unspecified era fixes the time of his reign from c. 20 A.D. to at least 46 A.D. if the dates are calculated according to the Azes/Vikrama era.[81] The territorial extent and precise

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[78] Rosenfield's suggestion that the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions ". . . may be the record of a ceremonial gathering at Mathurā of a large number of Śaka princes" (1967, 134) seems to fit the context of a common Śaka political and cultural identity.

[79] Two problems complicate the interpretation of numismatic and epigraphic evidence of Gondophares' reign. The first is the "homonymy problem" (Alram 1999, 37, fn. 123) of different kings named Gondophares in Seistan and Arachosia, which is suggested by Parthian-type coins of Gondophares which appear to some numismatists to belong to the first century B.C. rather than the first century A.D. coin-types adopted by Gondophares in parts of northwestern India (Robert Senior, *From Gondophares to Kaniṣka*, Glastonbury, Somerset, 1997, 1–11). According to B.N. Puri, ". . . it now seems that 'Gondophares' and 'Guduphara' were 'winner of glory' titles, which became a sort of family name for many subsequent members of the family" ("The Sakas and Indo-Parthians," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II: The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250, ed. János Harmatta [Paris, 1994], 200). The second problem is the identification of Gondophares/Guduphara with King Gudnafar in the apocryphal account of St. Thomas, who visited India in the early first century A.D. according to late hagiographical sources. Gérard Fussman cautions against the use of these sources as evidence for resolving questions about the chronology of Gondophares' reign: "Cela ne signifie ni que Thomas—. . . supposer que lui-même ait existé—l'ait rencontré, ni qu'ils étaient des contemporains. Cela nous apprend seulement que le nom de ce soverain indo-parthe étaient encore connu en Syrie vers 250 de n.è. Les *Actes de Saint-Thomas* ne datent pas Gondopharès et permettent encore moins d'affirmer qu'il possédait Taxila" ("L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Śaka," *Journal Asiatique* 286, 1998: 624–625).

[80] Alram 1999, 37–44; Osmund Bopearachchi, *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 59–60; Bopearachchi and Pieper 1998, 219–223; Bopearachchi 1999, 135–136; Mitchener 1976, 5.393–394, 8.697–719; Senior 2001, 1.108–128, 2.148–158.

[81] Konow 1929: 57–62, no. 20, pl. XII.1. Robert Senior, ("The Apracharajas and their Coinage," *Numismatic Digest* 20, 1996: 36–37; 1997, 3–4; 2001, 1.94)

chronological limits for the reign of his successors remain uncertain, but it is clear from the widespread distribution of coins, archaeological excavations at Taxila, and artistic developments in Gandhāran sculpture that Parthian hegemony in the middle of the first century A.D. was "a period of great prosperity and cultural achievement."[82]

Other groups of Śakas known as "Western Kṣatrapas" established dynasties in Gujarat, Ujjayinī, and areas of western India from the first to fourth centuries A.D. Although their origins are obscure, these Śakas probably migrated from Seistan to the lower Indus valley before gaining power in neighboring regions of ancient Saurāṣṭra and Mālava and gradually expanding their realm to areas around the mouth of the Narmadā River and the Western Ghats.[83] An earlier line of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas is known primarily through coins and inscriptions referring to Nahapāna, who may also be identified with Manbanos, the ruler of Barygaza (Sanskrit Bhṛgukaccha, modern Broach in Gujarat) in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.[84] Inscriptions recording

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identifies Gondophares in the Takht-i-Bāhī Kharoṣṭhī inscription with Sases, a successor of Gondophares who may have belonged to the Apraca line as a nephew of Aśpavarma on the basis of a single coin legend. The authenticity of a recently published Kharoṣṭhī inscription dated in Azes year 98 (equivalent to c. 41 A.D.) during the reign of Abdagases (*Avakaśa*), a nephew of Gondophares (*Guphara*) is doubtful, and therefore can not be used as evidence to confirm or disconfirm dates for Gondophares' reign (Akira Sadakata, "Quelques inscriptions kharoṣṭhī provenant du marché aux antiquités de Peshawar couvertes," *Journal Asiatique* 284.2, 1996: 308–311, pls. 4–5; authenticity doubted by Salomon 2005, 369, fn. 19).

[82] Rosenfield 1967, 129.

[83] Rosenfield 1967, 130–131 proposes that a "southwestern group of Śakas" expelled from Seistan by Mithradates II at the beginning of the first century B.C. may be referred to in a medieval Jain hagiographic narrative in the *Kālakācāryakathānaka*, which explains how the Śaka dynasty of Ujjayinī came to power after crossing the Indus and conquering Saurāṣṭra (summarized by Konow 1929, xxvi–xxvii). The context of this quasi-historical narrative is to provide information about the origins of the Śaka era. Dinesh Chandra Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition* (Delhi, 1969), 106 ff. details the anachronistic role played by Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, in establishing the so-called Vikrama era of 58/7 B.C.

[84] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, 2vols. (Bombay, 1981); Mitchener 1976, 9.811–852; Rosenfield 1967, 131. The term Kṣaharāta also occurs as a title or toponym in the Taxila copper-plate Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Patika (Konow 1929, 24–25) and in a Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā (Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Göttingen 1961, 157–158, §118). Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with introduction, translation and commentary* (Princeton, 1989), 77, 197–198, §41.14.2 refers to the identification of Manbanos with Nahapāna, which is disputed by Gérard Fussman ("Le *Périple* et l'histoire politique de l'Inde," *Journal Asiatique* 279, 1991: 33), who disagrees that Nahapāna could have been ruling between c. 40–70 A.D. when the *Periplus* was composed.

donations by Nahapāna's daughter Dakhamitrā and her husband Uṣavadāta at Nāsik, Junnār, and Kārle in the Western Ghats are dated in years 41–6 of an unspecified era.[85] If the dates in these inscriptions are calculated according to the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D.,[86] the chronological range from c. 119–124 A.D. would place Nahapāna in the second century. However, first century dates for Nahapāna are suggested because inscriptions of Caṣṭana, a Western Kṣatrapa ruler who followed Nahapāna by copying his coins, are dated in years 6, 11, and 52 of the Śaka era.[87] The dates in these inscriptions may refer to regnal years of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, in which case both rulers apparently had unusually long reigns of at least 46 and 52 years from the middle of the first century to the beginning of the second century.

Caṣṭana belonged to the Kārdamaka lineage of Western Kṣatrapas, which continued to rule Gujarat, Ujjayinī, and parts of western India until the end of the fourth century A.D. Based on their use of Iranian names and titles, E.J. Rapson suggested that this branch of Śakas originally migrated to western India from the Iranian borderlands of Seistan sometime during the first century A.D.[88] However, D.C.

[85] Mirashi 1981, 2.95–114; Sircar 1965, 164–173, nos. 58–62.

[86] Sircar advocates strongly for this position: "I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with those of the Andhau records and the paleography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamputra Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi" (1965, 164, fn. 1). Mirashi (1981, 1.100–108) considers the possibility that the dates refer to regnal years, but concludes in favor of the Śaka era.

[87] For inscriptions of Caṣṭana at Daulatpur and Andhau dated in years 6, 11, and 52 see Mirashi 1981, 2.115–9, nos. 45–9, 153–6, no. 63 and Sircar 1965, 173–175, nos. 63–66. In the Daulatpur and Andhau *yaṣṭi* inscriptions dated in years 6 and 11, the name of Caṣṭana is not certain, but can be restored as *(*caṣṭa)nasya* in the first line of the Daulatpur inscription on the basis of his father's name (*ysāmotikaputrasa* "son of Ysāmotika") in the first line of the Andhau inscription. Ramashankar Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1942), 217 and Senior (1997, 17–18) refer to the established numismatic sequence in which Caṣṭana follows Nahapāna. According to Senior, drachms of Nahapāna are overstruck by Sind drachms of Gondophares-Sases, which ". . . would mean that Nahapana was regnant in c. 17–12 B.C. and reigned possibly into the first or second decade A.D." (1997, 17). This chronological scheme placing Nahapāna in the first century B.C. is too early for Caṣṭana to follow, but the possibility that coins of Sases follow those of Nahapāna in the lower Indus region sometime after c. 50 A.D. accords well with the report about Barbaricon at the mouth of the Indus in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*: ". . . the throne is in the hands of the Parthians, who are constantly chasing each other off it" (Casson 1989, 75).

[88] E.J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty* (London, 1908), civ–cv.

Sircar is more cautious, noting that "The original home of the Kārdamakas is unknown, although Caṣṭana possibly ruled as a subordinate chief somewhere about the Western fringe of the territory of Nahapāna, the viceroy of the Kuṣāṇas."[89] According to Sircar's reconstruction of the history of this period in western India, Caṣṭana replaced Nahapāna as the Kuṣāṇa viceroy "with instructions to recover the lost areas of the satrapy from the Śātavāhanas" after Nahapāna's death or defeat at their hands.[90] Some historians find support for Caṣṭana's alliance with the Kuṣāṇas in an image identified with Caṣṭana at the Māṭ *devakula* outside of Mathurā, but the reading of the Brāhmī inscription labeling the figure is uncertain.[91] Although Indian literary sources do not refer to Caṣṭana by name, Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII.i.63) written c. 140 A.D. based on a combination of contemporary and more ancient sources describes Ozene (Sanskrit Ujjayinī, modern Ujjain) as the capital (Greek *basileion*) of Tiastanos, clearly corresponding to Caṣṭana.[92] In their inscriptions and coins, the successors of Caṣṭana adopted the reckoning system beginning in 78 A.D. (the Śaka era), which became widespread primarily because of its astrological value.[93] An epigraphic reference to the Kārdamaka lineage occurs in a Sanskrit inscription in a Buddhist cave at Kāṇherī recording the donation of a water cistern on behalf of a Sātavāhana queen who was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru- (*mahākṣatra[p]a ru + [p]utry[āḥ]*) and "a descendant of the Kārdamaka royal lineage" (*kārddamakarājavaṃśa-pra[bha]v[ā]y[ā]*).[94] Mahākṣatrapa Ru- can be identified with

[89] Sircar 1969, 86.

[90] Sircar 1969, 86.

[91] Rosenfield (1967, 145–146, fig. 3) provisionally labels this image "the Caṣṭana statue" but acknowledges that Lüders (1961, 145–147, §100) reads *mastana* rather than *ṣastana*, which is very difficult to reconcile with Caṣṭana's name in Brāhmī inscriptions and coins of the Western Kṣatrapas.

[92] P.H.L. Eggermont, "The Murundas and the Ancient Trade-Route from Taxila to Ujjain," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 9.3 (1966): 264–265; Rosenfield 1967, 132; Sircar 1969, 87.

[93] The hypothesis that Caṣṭana was responsible for initiating the Śaka era in 78 A.D. implies a separate Kaniṣka era beginning at a later date (see p. 87 ff.). As recently demonstrated by Harry Falk ("The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣâṇas," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7, 2001: 121–136; 2002, 91–95), the Śaka and Kaniṣka eras are treated as separate reckoning systems in the *Yavanajātaka*. According to Falk (2002, 91–92), the beginning of the Śaka era on the first day of Caitra (April), 78 A.D. is astronomically significant as the conjunction of the sun, moon, and Jupiter in Aries.

[94] Georg Bühler, "Inscriptions," in James Burgess, *Report on the Elura cave temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina caves in western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India 5, London, 1883 [1970]), 78, no. 11, pl. LI; Shobhana Gokhale, *Kanheri*

Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭana who proclaimed extensive conquests in his Sanskrit *praśasti* inscription at Junāgaḍh dated in year 72 of the Śaka era (corresponding to 150/151 A.D.).[95] While the reign of Rudradāman marked the peak of Western Kṣatrapa power in the middle of the second century (contemporary with the Kuṣāṇas), Śaka rulers continued to issue inscriptions and coins until the end of the fourth century, when the imperial Guptas expanded their dominions to include Mālava and Surāṣṭra.[96] Thus, the Śaka contribution to ancient Indian history was not ephemeral, but had considerable political, economic, and social impact for a period of about 500 years (c. first century B.C. through fourth century A.D.).

Śaka administration of urban centers at Taxila, Mathurā, and Ujjayinī on major commercial arteries of the northern route (*uttarāpatha*) and the southern route (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) encouraged long-distance trade and religious patronage. The characterization of Śakas and other foreigners (*mlecchas*) as barbarian invaders who pose grave threats to the normative ideals of *dharma* became an abiding stereotype in Indian literature.[97] However, a broad range of epigraphic and numismatic evidence instead reflects their gradual assimilation into Indian society as Kṣatriyas, especially in the northwestern borderlands and other peripheral regions on the frontiers of Āryāvarta. Intercultural exchanges between the various groups of Śakas and their Indian counterparts introduced Iranian loanwords into Sanskrit and Prakrit (particularly titles and administrative terms such as *kṣatrapa*), provided an impetus for the establishment of continuous eras (Azes/Vikrama and Śaka) which are still in use, and transformed certain features of iconography and architecture.[98] Śaka contributions generally do not

Inscriptions (Pune, 1991), 62; Heinrich Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About 400 A.D. with the Exception of Those of Aśoka* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica* 10, 1912), 103, no. 994; Mirashi 1981, 2.68–69, no. 25.

[95] Georg Bühler, "On the Relationship between the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas," *Indian Antiquary* 12 (1883): 272–274; Franz Kielhorn, "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman; the Year 72," *Epigraphia Indica 8* (1905–1906): 36–49; Sircar 1965, 175–80, esp. 178, n. 9.

[96] Mitchener 1976, 9.827–829; Rosenfield 1967, 133; Sircar 1969, 87–105; Tripathi 1942, 218–219.

[97] Lamotte 1988, 488–489 gives examples of this motif in the *Yugapurāṇa, Mahābhārata, Kāmasūtra,* and *Aśokāvadāna.*

[98] In the context of innovative images of the Buddha in human form, Gérard Fussman comments, "L'afflux continuel d'étrangers au Gandhāra, au Panjāb et à Mathurā, entraînant un bouleversement des moeurs, des coutumes, des techniques aussi, ne peuvait manquer d'avoir une influence sur l'air du temps" (1994, 30).

receive as much attention as earlier Greek influences (although many Hellenistic features were filtered into India through the Śakas and Indo-Parthians) or later Kuṣāṇa developments. Nevertheless, the incorporation of Mahākṣatrapa Jihonika, Stratega Aśpavarama, the Kardamaga King, Zadamitra, and other Śakas as figures in Gāndhārī avadānas acknowledges their supporting roles in "the great flowering of Gandhāran Buddhism."[99] Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions which record the establishment of relics in *stūpas* and other donations to Buddhist monastic communities by Patika in Taxila, Apracas such as Indravarma and his wife Uttarā in the Northwest, the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rajula in Mathurā, and the Western Kṣatrapas at cave monasteries in the Western Ghats demonstrate that Śakas were active patrons at elite levels.[100] Śakas ultimately "became the great intermediators through whom Indian civilization and Indian ideals spread to Central Asia and the far east."[101]

Kuṣāṇas

Contact between South Asia and Central Asia greatly accelerated during the Kuṣāṇa period in the first through third centuries A.D. Kuṣāṇa control of a network of routes extending from Bactria in the Oxus valley to the Ganges-Jumna doāb in northern India contributed to a favorable political and economic environment for long-distance travel, trade, and cultural transmission. Inscriptions, coins, petroglyphs, and other types of material evidence have helped to clarify some Kuṣāṇa genealogical and chronological issues (which are briefly reviewed here), although many questions about specific routes for Kuṣāṇa migrations can not be fully resolved based on the available evidence. Gaps remain to be filled in the reconstruction of early Kuṣāna political history between their arrival in Bactria by c. 128 B.C. and their entry into the northwestern borderlands of India sometime in the first century A.D. Nevertheless, the unification of much of northern India under Kuṣāṇa administration led to the

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[99] Salomon 1999, 180.

[100] Śaka support of Buddhism did not preclude their patronage of other Indian religious traditions or imply that their older Iranian beliefs and practices disappeared, as Marshall concludes from the Taxila excavations: ". . . while clinging to their own Iranian faiths, the Śakas showed a tolerant and sympathetic attitude towards every religion" (1951, 1.57–58).

[101] Konow 1929, xxvi.

import of many exogenous cultural elements from the Indo-Iranian borderlands and resulted in the export of Buddhist ideas and practices beyond the Indian subcontinent to Central Asia.

Kuṣāṇa Migration Routes from Central Asia

The Kuṣāṇas reached the northwestern borderlands of the Indian subcontinent after migrating across Central Asia in the second century B.C. An understanding of early Kuṣāṇa migrations depends almost entirely on Chinese historical annals (*Han shu* chapter 96A and *Shiji* chapter 123).[102] The Kuṣāṇas were a branch of the Yuezhi, who inhabited vast areas to the west of Dunhuang in the Qilian (Tienshan) mountains at the beginning of the Han period (221–206 B.C.).[103] Conflicts with the Xiongnu beginning c. 208–207 B.C. forced the Yuezhi to gradually migrate westwards across the Tarim Basin to the Ili Basin and Lake Issyk Kul. As already discussed in the context of Śaka migrations (p. 59), the encroachment by the Yuezhi compelled the Sai to move southwards, perhaps via routes across the Pamir and Karakoram mountains, to Jibin/Gandhāra. Yuezhi migrations also led to further conflicts with the Wusun tribal confederacy, so that by c. 128 B.C. (the date of Zhang Qian's mission to the Yuezhi described in *Shiji* 123) at least some Yuezhi had migrated to Bactria (Daxia). Although details remain unclear, the Yuezhi predecessors of the Kuṣāṇas consolidated their control of Bactria and adjacent regions of northern Afghanistan (probably at the expense of the

[102] See note 18 for references to translations of *Han Shu* 96A and *Shiji* 123. Y.A. Zadneprovsky ("Migration Paths of the Yueh-Chih Based on Archaeological Evidence," *Circle of Inner Asian Art Newsletter* 9, April, 1999, 3–6) suggests that the distribution of podboy burials in Gansu, Tarim Basin, Semirichie, Fergana, Zeravshan valley, and northern Bactria ". . . reflects the process of settling and migration of Yueh-chih tribes from the remote areas of Asia towards Bactria" (6). An ethnic attribution of podboy burials to the Yuezhi is problematic because these burial practices seem to have also been adopted by other groups (in southern Siberia, for example) not related to the Yuezhi.

[103] Thierry (2005, 448) argues that the relevant passages of *Shiji* 123, 3161–3162 and *Hanshu* 96A, 3890–3891 (translated as texts 3–4 on pp. 490–491) do not support localizing the original Yuezhi homeland in Gansu, but "dans un espace beaucoup plus vaste et plus occidental qu'entre la region de Dunhuang et les actuels Qilian: ils nomadisaient dans un espace limité à l'est par les contreforts méridionaux des actuels Qilian, et à l'ouest par les Tianshan." Similar arguments are made by Xinru Liu ("Migration and Settlement of the Yuezhi-Kushan : Interaction and Interdependence of Nomadic and Sedentary Societies," *Journal of World History* 12.2, 2001: 268) with reference to a recent book by Lin Meicun (*The Western Region of the Han-Tang Dynasties and the Chinese Civililization* [in Chinese], Bejing, 1998, 64 ff.).

Bactrian Greeks and Indo-Greeks) during a turbulent period from the end of the second century B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.D.

According to the *Han shu* 96A, 3891 (but not in *Shiji* 123), the Yuezhi realm in Daxia consisted of five Yabgu principalities,[104] which scholars have attempted to identify with specific areas of northern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan. This list of five principalities is repeated with some important differences in chapter 118.9a of the *Hou Han shu* (*History of the Later Han*) compiled by Fan Ye (398–446 A.D.), who based his account of the Western Regions on a report by General Ban Yong before 125 A.D.[105] Based on the testimony of the *Hou Han shu*, when the Yabgu of Guishuang named Qiujiuque vanquished the other four principalities, Qiujiuque's entire kingdom became known as Guishuang, apparently equivalent to K(h)uṣāṇa in Kharoṣṭhī coin legends, Koshano in Bactrian coin legends, and Kuṣāṇa in Brāhmī inscriptions. Also according to this source, Qiujiuque invaded Anxi (probably the bordering territories of the Indo-Parthians), seized the territory of Gaofu (usually identified with the Kabul valley), and destroyed Puda (probably ancient Puṣkalāvatī), and Jibin (likely Gandhāra rather than the Kashmir valley) before he died at over 80 years old.[106] From their bases in

[104] Chinese *xihou* corresponds to the Central Asian title *yabgu*, which was adopted by the Kuṣāṇas in their coin legends (Hulsewé, 1979, 121–123; Rosenfield 1967, 11; Thierry 2005, 462–469, 498).

[105] *Hou Han shu* 118.9a is translated by Thierry 2005, 492–493 (text 7: HHS 88, 2920–2921) and Zürcher 1968, 367. Fussman points out that Fan Ye may have attempted to abbreviate or edit the material in an attempt to eliminate perceived inconsistencies, so that "effectivement *Hou Han Shu* 118 a est composé comme une mosaïque" (1998, 636).

[106] Identification of many of these toponyms listed as conquests by Qiujiuque in *Hou Han shu* 118.9a remains uncertain. Although Anxi usually refers to Parthia in Chinese sources, a Kuṣāṇa invasion of Parthia is unlikely (Fussman 1998, 638), so a campaign against Indo-Parthian domains in Arachosia seems more likely. Because Gaofu is listed as one of the five *xihou/yabgu* principalities in the corresponding *Han shu* passage (96 A, 3891), but as one of the territories seized by Qiujiuque in *Hou Han shu* 118, it is possible that the geographical designation of Gaofu is not stable (like Jibin). The location of Puda is uncertain, but the general order in which these territories are listed (Gaofu/Kabul—Puda/Puṣkalāvatī—Jibin/Gandhāra) may indicate the general direction of Kuṣāṇa conquests (Fussman 1998, 637–638). The identification of Jibin as Gandhāra has already been discussed in the context of Śaka migrations, and in this passage it is clear that Jibin is different from Gaofu/Kabul. It does not seem likely that the earliest Kuṣāṇa conquests included Kashmir, although the geographical location of Jibin shifts between Kashmir and Kapiśa in Chinese texts of later periods.

the mountain valleys of northeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan, the Kuṣāṇas followed many of the same routes taken earlier by the Śakas to expand their dominions in northwestern frontiers of South Asia.

Kuṣāṇa Chronology and Genealogy

The contours of early Kuṣāṇa history in first century A.D. South Asia are understood only in rough outlines primarily traced from interpretations of numismatic and epigraphic sources. The first Kuṣāṇa ruler known from South Asian coins and inscriptions was Kujūla Kadphises, who can be identified with the Guishuang (Kuṣāṇa) Yabgu named Qiujiuque in *Hou Han shu* 118.9a. Numismatic evidence demonstrates that Kujūla Kadphises adopted increasingly imposing titles and transformed the images used by his Indo-Greek, Śaka, and Indo-Parthian predecessors. His early bronze coins imitate the posthumous issues of Hermaios, the last Indo-Greek ruler of Kapiśa and the Kabul valley in central Afghanistan, with a portrait of Hermaios and Greek legend on the obverse and a Kharoṣṭhī legend identifying Kujūla Kadphises as the "Kuṣaṇa Yabgu steadfast in *dharma*" (*kujula kasasa/karasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa*) on the reverse.[107] Royal portraits of Kujūla Kadphises on other coins are adopted from gold coins of the Roman emperor Augustus (31 B.C.–14 A.D.).[108] Kujūla Kadphises took the title of "Great King, King of Kings" (*maharajasa rajatirajasa* in Kharoṣṭhī legends) on coins patterned on issues of Śaka and Indo-Parthian rulers as the Kuṣāṇa dominion expanded beyond the Hindu Kush. The bull and camel coin-types of Kujūla Kadphises directly succeeded the bull and lion coin-types of Jihonika, a Śaka Kṣatrapa in Gandhāra and the Panjab c. 30–40 A.D. whose coins copy those of Azes II.[109] More than 2500 coins of Kujūla Kadphises found in the latest strata at Sirkap (Taxila) indicate a very significant Kuṣāṇa presence in the middle of the first

[107] Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, 37–44; for other examples, see Errington and Cribb 1992, 66, no. 34, 81, no. 75; Mitchiner 1976, 8.681–682, Type 1044–1045; and Rosenfield 1967, 12, Type I, coins 1,2,3.

[108] Errington and Cribb 1992, 66–68, no. 35; Mitchiner 1976, 8.688, Type 1053; Rosenfield 1967, 13–14, Type II, coins 4,5.

[109] David W. MacDowall, "The Azes Hoard from Shaikhan-Dheri: Fresh Evidence for the Context of Jihonika," in *South Asian Archaeology 1971*, ed. Norman Hammond (London, 1973), 225, pl. 16.2, a,b; Mitchiner 1976, 8.690, Type 1055; Rosenfield 1967, 15, Type 4, coin 15.

century A.D.[110] However, questions persist about the relationship between the Kuṣāṇa Mahārāja Mahārājādhīrāja Kujūla Kadphises and the Indo-Parthian Mahārāja Gondophares (ruling from c. 20–46 A.D. based on the Takht-i-Bāhī Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Azes/Vikrama year 104) since their reigns seem to have overlapped sometime during the middle of the first century.

Kharoṣṭhī and Bactrian inscriptions help to establish relatively secure dates for the establishment of the early Kuṣāṇa empire by Kujūla Kadphises and confirm the order of his immediate successors. Although it is not possible to fix an absolute chronology for the long reign of Kujūla Kadphises based on Chinese literary references or numismatic sources, the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Senavarma, a king of Oḍi, offers a potential synchronism in the early-mid first century A.D. [111] The inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Senavarma, while other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of his father Ajitasena and brother Varmasena who both preceded Senavarma as kings of Oḍi, are dated in their fourth and fifth regnal years, respectively.[112] Although the provenance of the Senavarma inscription is unknown, Richard Salomon suggests that Oḍi may be identified with modern Oḍigram (Udegram) in the Swat valley.[113] This inscription (the longest attested epigraphic record written in the Kharoṣṭhī script) commemorates King Senavarma's rededication of Buddhist relics in

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[110] Frank Raymond Allchin, "Archaeology and the Date of Kaniṣka: The Taxila Evidence," in *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham (Leiden, 1968), 11–13; Konow 1929, lxv; Marshall 1951, 1.67, 2.785, 2.792.

[111] Editions of the Senavarma inscription have been published by Harold Bailey, "A Kharoṣṭrī Inscription of Seṇavarma, King of Oḍi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1980): 21–29; Gérard Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques kouchans (III): L'inscription Kharoṣṭhī de Senavarma, roi d'Oḍi: Une nouvelle lecture," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 71 (1982): 1–46; Oskar von Hinüber, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Senavarma-Inschrift* (Mainz/Stuttgart, 2003); Richard Salomon, "The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29 (1986): 261–293; also see reviews of von Hinüber's edition by Harry Falk, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 98 (2003): 573–577; Gérard Fussman, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 90/91 (2003/2004): 517–520; and Richard Salomon (forthcoming). Additional references are given in the entry for CKI 249 "Senavarma Inscription," in the Gāndhārī Corpus Catalogue of Inscriptions at http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/inscriptions.php (16 December 2005).

[112] Gérard Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques kouchans IV: Ajitasena, père de Senavarma," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 75 (1986): 1–14 + pls. 1–6; Richard Salomon, "Three Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscriptions in the Institute of Silk Road Studies," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9 (2003): 39–51, 63–64.

[113] Salomon 1986, 290; 2003, 39.

a *stūpa* which was burnt by lightning. Among the relatives and officials who are "honored" (i.e. who share the merit of the donation) is a figure named Sadaṣkaṇa, who is titled "son of the Gods" (*devaputra*) and son of "the Great King, King over Kings" Kujūla Kadphises (l.8g, *maharaja-rayatiraya-kuyula-kataphsa-putro sadaṣkaṇo devapu[tro]*). According to this epigraphic reference, Sadaṣkaṇa was an otherwise unknown Kuṣāṇa prince during the reign of his father, Kujūla Kadphises, whose sovereignty was acknowledged by Senavarma. Another official honored together with Sadaṣkaṇa is the "royal kinsman Suhasoma the *aṣmaṇakara*" (l. 9a, *sadha aṇakaeṇa suhasomeṇa aṣmaṇakareṇa*). Richard Salomon proposes that Suhasoma in the Senavarma inscription is identical with Suhasoma (spelled as Suhasoma and Susoma), the husband of Vāsavadattā, in a Kharoṣṭhī dedicatory inscription on a pot in the British Library.[114] Although this identification is disputed by Harry Falk,[115] Vāsavadattā in the British Library pot inscription may be the sister of the Apraca prince Indravarma mentioned in his Kharoṣṭhī reliquary casket inscription dated in Azes year 63 (c. 6 A.D.).[116] If in fact Suhasoma in the Senavarma inscription and Vāsavadattā in the reliquary casket inscription of Indravarma are identical to the husband and wife with the same names in the British Library pot inscription, the Apraca-rājas and the Oḍi-rājas were clearly linked together as regional powers in Swat and perhaps Bajaur during the early first century A.D. This connection synchronizes the Apracas, Oḍi kings, and early Kuṣāṇas in the first half of the first century A.D., since Sadaṣkaṇa, a son of Kujūla Kadphises, was contemporary with Senavarma and Suhasoma, and Suhasoma was married to Vāsavadattā, a sister of Indravarma.

A Bactrian inscription from Rabatak in northern Afghanistan clarifies the genealogy of three generations of Kuṣāṇa rulers following

[114] Salomon 1999, 152–153, 191–199; 2003, 50.

[115] Harry Falk, review of Salomon 1999 in *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (2000): 210–211.

[116] Harold Bailey, "Two Kharoṣṭhī casket inscriptions from Avaca," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1978): 3–13; Fussman 1980, 1–43; Richard Salomon, "The "Avaca" Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 59–68; Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Incription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7 (1984): 107–123; for additional references, see CKI 242 "Avaca Casket 1," in the Gāndhārī Corpus Catalogue of Inscriptions at http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/etext.php?cki=CKI0242 (16 December 2005).

Kujūla Kadphises.[117] The main purpose of the inscription was to record the construction of a sanctuary (*bagolaggo*) with images of mostly Iranian gods and goddesses by a local official of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka in the first year of his reign. The inscription proclaims that the Kuṣāṇa dominion included "the whole of the realm of the Kṣatriyas"[118] and extended to the cities of Sāketa (*Zagedo*), Kauśāmbī (*Kōzambo*), Pāṭaliputra (*Palabotro*), and Śrī-Campā (*Ziri Tambo*) in northern India. Although the name of the direct successor of Kujūla Kadphises in the list of Kaniṣka's ancestors is somewhat unclear ("for King Kujula Kadphises (his) great grandfather, and for King Vima Taktu (his) grandfather, and for King Vima Kadphises (his) father, and also for himself, King Kanishka"),[119] the inscription confirms that Kujūla Kadphises was followed by two generations of Kuṣāṇa rulers before Kaniṣka inherited power. Based on Nicholas Sims-Williams' reading of the Rabatak inscription, Joe Cribb links Vima Taktu with the 'Soter Megas' ("Great Savior") series of Kuṣāṇa coins, which are widely distributed in northern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, and northern India.[120] The reference to the grandfather of Kaniṣka in the Rabatak inscription and numerous coins issued during his reign indicate that he was primarily responsible for the consolidation

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[117] The Bactrian inscription at Rabatak was first published by Joe Cribb and Nicholas Sims-Williams, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995/6): 75–142. An alternative translation by B.N. Mukherjee, "The Great Kushāṇa Testament," *Indian Museum Bulletin* 30 (1995 [but appearing in 1999]): 1–106 is less reliable. Fussman 1998, 571–651 makes extensive comments on the chronological implications.

[118] Cribb and Sims-Williams 1995/6, 78, lines 5–6; Fussman 1998, 599–601; Mukherjee 1995, 6–7.

[119] The reading and interpretation of this critical passage by Cribb and Sims-Williams 1995/6, 80 is challenged by Mukherjee (1995 [1999], 10), who reads the name of Sadaṣkaṇa (as in the Senavarma Kharoṣṭhī inscription) instead of Vima Taktu, and by Fussman (1998: 604), who maintains that the condition of line 13 of the inscription does not permit a clear reading of the name of the ruler between Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. Fussman (1998, 605–619) also dismisses evidence from a Brāhmī inscription at the base of a colossal statue of a seated Kushan emperor at the Māṭ *devakula* and from a set of trilingual inscriptions at Dašt-e-Nāwur which Cribb and Sims-Williams cite to support their reading and interpretation of Vima Taktu's name.

[120] Long before the discovery of the Rabatak inscription, David Macdowell, "Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushāṇa," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 30 (1968): 28–48 proposed that a "nameless king" intervened between Kujūla Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. Cribb's (Cribb and Sims-Williams 1995/6, 102) attempt to identify Yan Gaozhen with Vima Taktu is not convincing, since as Fussman observes, "la lecture attentive de HHS 118.9 permet plusieurs interpretations" (1998, 639).

and expansion of Kuṣāṇa hegemony during the period (probably in the middle to late first century A.D.) between Kujūla Kadphises and Vima Kadphises.

Vima Kadphises, who is clearly identified as the father of Kaniṣka in the Rabatak inscription, is known mostly from his issues of coins. In addition to issuing the first Kuṣāṇa gold coins, Vima Kadphises adopted grandiloquent titles and elaborate iconography. He issued coins with the titles of "King of Kings" and "Soter Megas" in Greek, and "Great King, King of Kings, Lord (King) of All the World, Great Lord (King), Savior" in Kharoṣṭhī (*maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhphiśasa tradara*).[121] Coin portraits of Vima Kadphises in a standing pose making an offering at a small altar are very similar to statues of Kuṣāṇa emperors in dynastic shrines at Surkh Kotal and Māṭ.[122] Royal portraits on Kuṣāṇa coins served as models for petroglyphic images at Shatial and Hunza in northern Pakistan and at Khalatse between Kashmir and Ladakh, although it is not clear that the coins of Vima Kadphises were the sources of this type of imagery since similar types of poses continued on the coins of Kaniṣka and his successors.[123] Attempts to find the name of Vima Kadphises in a Brāhmī inscription at Māṭ and in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Taxila, Khalatse, and northern Pakistan are problematic, so the only secure epigraphic attestation is in the Rabatak inscription.[124]

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[121] Errington and Cribb 1992. 85, no. 88; Rosenfield 1967, 22–26, coins 17–29.

[122] Rosenfield (1967, 26, 144 ff., figs. 2–3, 119–120) compares the pose, costume, and other attributes of coin portraits of Vima Kadphises to features of Kuṣāṇa royal statues.

[123] Human figures standing in poses similar to Kuṣāna royal coin portraits at Shatial (nos. 17:40, 34:161, and 14:3) are analyzed by Ditte König in Gérard Fussman and Ditte König, *Die Felsbildstation Shatial*, MANP 2 (Mainz, 1997), 9–10, pl. 1. A.H. Dani, "The Sacred Rock of Hunza," *Journal of Central Asia* 8.2 (1985): 9 attempts to identify such an image with Vima Kadphises based on an illegible Kharoṣṭhī inscription. Another petroglyph of this type of standing figure at Khalatse is illustrated by Giacomella Orofino, "A Note on Some Tibetan Petroglyphs of the Ladakh Area," *East & West* 40 (1990): 196, fig. 33 and Giuseppe Tucci, "Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat," *East & West* 9 (1958): 294, fig. 8.

[124] Lüders 1961, 135 (§98) reads a Brāhmī inscription on the base of a statue of a seated Kuṣāṇa ruler at Māṭ as 1. *mahārājo rājātirājo devaputro* 2. *Kuṣāṇapu[t]r[o ṣā]hi [Vema] Ta[kṣu]masya*, which is more likely to record the name of Vima Taktu than Vima Kadphises. A Kharoṣṭhī reliquary inscription on a silver scroll from Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila refers to an unnamed Kuṣāṇa emperor (*maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khuṣaṇasa arogadakṣiṇae*) in Azes year 136 (c. 78 A.D.), but links with Vima Kadphises are conjectural (Konow 1929, 77, no. XXVII, pl. XIV). Konow (1929,

The Kuṣāṇa empire reached its greatest extent during the reign of Kaniṣka, whose legacy is preserved in inscriptions, textual traditions, archaeological remains, and coins, as well as in an era initiated by him and continued by his successors. However, an absolute date for the beginning of the era founded by Kaniṣka remains elusive despite the efforts of several generations of scholars to resolve the issue. Current scholarly consensus is shifting away from the traditional identification of the Kaniṣka era with the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D. This identification was based on the hypothesis that the Western Kṣatrapas adopted the reckoning system from their Kuṣāṇa overlords. Gérard Fussman and Robert Senior, among others, maintain that Kaniṣka was responsible for instituting the era of 78 A.D.[125] by dismissing arguments for dating the reign of Kaniṣka in the second century rather than the last quarter of the first century.

Harry Falk has recently drawn attention to a formula for calculating the difference between the Śaka and "Koṣāṇa" eras, which are treated as separate reckoning systems in the *Yavanajātaka*, an astronomical treatise written by Sphujidhvaja in 269 A.D.[126] A verse in the last chapter of this text (79.15) clearly distinguishes between "the number of years that have passed of the Koṣāṇas" (*koṣāṇagatābdasaṃkhyā*) and the "the time of the Śakas (i.e., the year in the Śaka era)" (*kālaḥ śakānāṃ*).[127] The verse seems to indicate that 149 years separate the two eras, which would result in a very late date for the beginning of the "Koṣāṇa" era in 227 A.D. Third century dates for

79–81, no. XXIX, pl. XV.2) tentatively identifies the name of Vima Kadphises and a date in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription accompanying a petroglyph of a standing figure at Khalatse (Orofino 1990, fig. 33; Tucci 1958, fig. 8), but Sircar (1965, 134, no. 35) and Fussman (1998, 625–626) express doubts about this identification. Salomon (2005, 376) tentatively accepts Konow's reading of *Uvima Kavthisa* as equivalent to Vima Kadphises and allows the possibility that the date in year 287 (instead of 184/7) may belong to the Yoṇa era of 186/5 B.C., yielding a date for Vima Kadphises c. 101 A.D.

[125] Fussman 1998, 641; Senior 2001, 1.130.

[126] Falk 2001, 121–136; 2002, 91–97; David Pingree, ed. *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, 2 vols. Harvard Oriental Series 48. (Cambridge/London, 1978).

[127] Falk 2001, 126; Pingree 1978, 2.187. Based on a microfilm copy of manuscript N of the *Yavanajātaka*, Falk reads and translates verse 79.15 as *gatena sādhyardhaśatena yuktyā vyekena koṣāṇagatābdasaṃkhyā/kālaḥ śakānāṃ pariśodhya tasmād atītam anyad yugavarṣayātāḥ//* "The elapsed years of the Kuṣâṇas in combination with 149 (change into) the time of the Śakas. Subtracting from this (Śaka time [plus 56]) the elapsed (*yuga*, i.e. 165 years) (produces) the elapsed years of the second *yuga*" (2001, 127). Falk's reading, translation, and interpretations differ in important details from Pingree's edition (79.15c: *kālaṃ śakānāṃ*) and from the commentary of Utpala on *Bṛhajjātaka*

the beginning of the Kaniṣka era have been proposed on strictly numismatic grounds, but such theories have not been widely accepted because Kaniṣka's grandfather (Vima Takto) and father (Vima Kadphises) would have had to rule for extremely long periods in the first and second centuries and Kaniṣka's successors would have to be restricted to the span of a single century before the onset of the Gupta era in 319/20 A.D.[128] According to Falk, the actual beginning date of the Koṣāṇa era (which is assumed to be equivalent to the Kaniṣka era) on March 23, 127 A.D. can be calculated by subtracting 100 from 149 years and by adding 49 to 78 (A.D.).[129] Subtracting 100 avoids the anachronistic problem of a Kaniṣka era beginning in 227 A.D., but also implies that Sphujidhvaja and other astrologers who consulted the *Yavanajātaka* were unaware that hundreds were omitted in the Koṣāna/Kaniṣka era.[130] It is therefore not surprising that the formula in *Yavanajātaka* 79.15 for synchronizing Śaka and Koṣāna dates with the 165 year *yuga* cycle was subject to textual corruptions and requires critical emendations to clarify its

7.9, which Pingree cites and translates as "(If one takes) the number of years of the Koṣāṇas which have passed and adds 149, then, subtracting from this number the year in the Śaka era, (one obtains a year in which) another yuga ended" (Falk 2001, 122). The Śaka and Koṣāṇa (Kuṣāṇa) are clearly regarded as separate eras, but Falk proposes that the purpose of the formula was to synchronize the two reckoning systems in order to calculate the number of years that had elapsed since the beginning of an astronomical *yuga* of 165 years when the sun and moon enter Aries in conjunction at sunrise on *meṣasaṃkrānti* (in 22 A.D., 187 A.D., etc.), which is the context of the 79th chapter.

[128] Alram (1999, 46) considers the numismatic evidence for a Kaniṣka era beginning in 232 A.D. proposed by Robert Göbl (*System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*, Vienna, 1984). Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*, (London, 1996), vol. 1, appendix 1 ("a note on ancient eras), 357–358, fn. 3 refers to a broad range of dates up to 278 A.D. for the beginning of the Kaniṣka era.

[129] Falk 2001, 130.

[130] The theory of "omitted hundreds" in Kaniṣka era dates proposed by Johanna E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, (*The "Scythian" Period: An approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949, 235–262; "The second century of the Kaniṣka era," *South Asian Studies* 2, 1986: 1–9) is accepted by Falk, who points out that Kaniṣka era dates with omitted hundreds may be found in some Gupta inscriptions ("The Kaniṣka era in Gupta records," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 10, 2004: 167–176). Kharoṣṭhī graffiti inscriptions from Hunza-Haldeikish, Alam Bridge, and Oshibat have about twenty dates in an unspecified era (but probably Kaniṣka) ranging from years 5 to 91 in formulae recording the arrival of visitors (Jason Neelis, *Long-distance Trade and the Transmission of Buddhism through Northern Pakistan, Primarily based on Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī Inscriptions*, University of Washington Ph.D. dissertation, Seattle, 2001, 321–323). The pattern of either very low or very high numbers suggests that the numeral for hundreds was omitted.

utility as evidence for determining the initial date of the Kaniṣka era. Although a separate Kaniṣka era beginning in 127 A.D. 49 years after the Śaka era of 78 A.D. suits chronological contexts of South Asian political history in the first and second centuries, the solution will remain hypothetical without an inscription dated in both the Śaka and Kaniṣka eras.[131]

Kuṣāṇa Contributions

Religious institutions located on long-distance trade networks benefited from commercial and political patronage under Kaniṣka and his Kuṣāṇa successors in the second and third centuries. Kuṣāṇa period donations of Buddhist relics, *stūpas*, monasteries, images, and various religious artifacts are well attested in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in an extensive area from Sārnāth in northern India to Wardak in central Afghanistan. Buddhist literary sources portray Kaniṣka as a Buddhist patron modeled on the ideal of Aśoka and Chinese pilgrims credit him with the construction of an immense *stūpa* at Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍherī in Peshawar.[132] Buddhist imagery appears on a few of Kaniṣka's coins, but most of his coins depict a wide variety of Iranian, Greek, and Indian gods and goddesses.[133] Huviṣka, the direct successor of Kaniṣka whose coins demonstrate similar patterns of religious iconography, is associated with a large Buddhist monastery at Jamālpur in Mathurā and is referred to in a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript fragment.[134]

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[131] As acknowledged by Falk 2001, 121.

[132] Rosenfield (1967, 28–39) summarizes Buddhist literary references to Kaniṣka; Errington and Cribb (1992, 193–197), Shoshin Kuwayama (*The Main Stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍherī: A Chronological Outlook*, Kyoto 1997), and Rosenfield (1967, 34–36) assess the archaeological evidence of the *stūpa* at Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍherī. The Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the so-called "Kaniṣka casket" from Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍherī is a donation of a perfume box (*gaṃdha-karaṃḍe*) rather than a reliquary, as previously thought (Gérard Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, Berlin, 1987, 79; Konow 1929, 135–137).

[133] Errington and Cribb (1992, 68) and Rosenfield (1967, 72–103) discuss the religious iconography of the coinage of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. For Buddhist imagery on Kaniṣka's coins, see Errington and Cribb (1992, 199–201, nos. 197–199) and Robert Göbl, "Die Buddha-Darstellungen in der Münzpragung der Kušān," in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, ed. G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti (Rome, 1987), 535–538.

[134] See Lüders (1961, 58, 68, §31) and Rosenfield (1967, 59) for references to the Huviṣka vihāra at Jamālpur. A Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript fragment with a narrative about two courtiers of Huviṣka is published by Richard Salomon, "A Fragment of a Collection of Buddhist Legends, with a Reference to King Huviṣka as a Follower of the Mahāyāna: Schøyen Fragment 2378/9," in *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection II* (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 3), ed. Jens Braarvig (Oslo, 2002), 255–267.

Many scholars interpret Kuṣāṇa patronage of Buddhist, Jain, Hindu, and other religious movements in South Asia as a means of gaining legitimacy as traditional Indian rulers, despite their foreign origins outside of the subcontinent.[135] While legitimation was not the only motivation for Kuṣāṇa patronage, their sponsorship of religious activities and imagery probably facilitated their assimilation into Indian society as Kṣatriyas.

Kuṣāṇa political, economic, and cultural influence extended from Bactria and northern India to areas of eastern Central Asia in the southern Tarim Basin. Between 87–91 A.D. a Kuṣāṇa expedition of 70,000 soldiers crossed the Pamirs to Kashgar because the Chinese refused to accept a marriage alliance proposed by a Kuṣāṇa envoy, according to *Hou Han shu* 77.4a–7a.[136] In another episode which took place c. 114–119 A.D. and is recapitulated in *Hou Han shu* 118.13b, the Kuṣāṇas installed their candidate as the ruler of Kashgar after he returned from exile across the Pamirs after being held as a royal hostage in a Kuṣāṇa center near modern Begram in Afghanistan, according to the seventh century testimony of Xuanzang.[137] Coins of Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka found with local 1st–2nd century A.D. Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins in Khotan provide numismatic support for Kuṣāṇa influence across the Karakoram.[138] However, more

[135] See, for example, statements by Xinru Liu (2001, 281) and Giovanni Verardi ("The Kuṣāṇa Emperors as Cakravartins. Dynastic Art and Cults in India and Central Asia: History of a Theory, Clarifications and Refutations," *East and West* 33, 1983: 225–294). Liu remarks that "The Kushan rulers patronized religious cults to claim their legitimacy of ruling the conquered sedentary societies . . ." (2001, 281) while at the same time maintaining the divinity of their kingship through worship at *devakula*s at Māṭ and Surkh Kotal. In his comparison of images of Kuṣāṇa emperors and architectural features at Māṭ and at Surkh Kotal, Verardi concludes: "The Kuṣāṇa emperors, as *cakravartins*, became part of Indian history by full right. They belong to it not so much, or only, as conquerors, but rather as legitimate sovereigns. They are the heirs of the Mauryan imperial tradition, of which they propose such a successful *renovatio* that the Gupta emperors will follow in their wake" (1983, 280).

[136] Roman Ghirshman, *Bégram: recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 12), Cairo, 1946, 129–31; Douglas Hitch, "Kushan Tarim Domination," *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1988): 182–183; Rosenfield 1967, 43; Zürcher 1968, 352, 369–370.

[137] John Brough, "Comments on Third-century Shan-Shan and the History of Buddhism," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1965): 589; Rosenfield 1967, 43; Zürcher 1968, 353, 369.

[138] Hitch 1988, 185–6; Joe Cribb, "The Sino-Kharosthi Coins of Khotan. Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology. *The Numismatic Chronicle* 144–145 (1985–1986): 129–152; 136–149 (2 parts).

substantial archaeological, epigraphic, or literary evidence of Kuṣāṇa administration is not available to support the hypothesis that the Kuṣāṇas directly controlled these areas of the Tarim Basin.[139]

By unifying an extensive network of trade routes which connected the Oxus River basin in western Central Asia with the Ganges and Jumna doāb in northern India, Kuṣāṇa kings and officials prospered with an intensification of Eurasian overland and maritime commerce in the first three centuries A.D.[140] By controlling urban centers at Termez, Begram, Peshawar, Taxila, Mathurā, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Pāṭaliputra, and Śrī Campā on the main arteries of the northern route (*uttarāpatha*), Kuṣāṇa administrators effectively acted as intermediaries between the prosperous Central Asian and Indian hinterlands and the lucrative ports for long-distance maritime trade on the western coast of India. Although seaports in Gujarat and western India were not directly administered by the Kuṣāṇas, the Western Kṣatrapas in Ujjayinī presumably maintained mutually beneficial relations with the Kuṣāṇas. Increased demands for luxury items and other rare commodities (such as silk) in the Roman empire and Chinese desire to obtain goods from the borderlands of South Asia (such as lapis lazuli from northeastern Afghanistan) and the Western Regions (such as jade from Khotan) permitted the Kuṣāṇas and Western Kṣatrapas to benefit from likely trade surpluses. These economic relationships are illustrated by the lists of commodities from the Indian subcontinent traded at various ports according to the itinerary of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, by the high value of Roman, Indian, and Chinese items excavated at Begram, and by Roman amphorae and coins in western and southern India and Sri Lanka (Roman gold coinage was very likely to have been melted down for Kuṣāṇa gold issues from the time of Vima Kadphises). From very uncertain origins as Central Asian migrants, the Kuṣāṇas eventually established themselves as cosmopolitan masters of northern India during a time of great economic and cultural dynamism.

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[139] This assessment follows Rosenfield (1967, 43).

[140] Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges A.D. 1–600* (Delhi, 1988); *The Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Interactions in Eurasia* (Washington D.C., 1998).

Conclusions

Śaka and Kuṣāṇa migrations from Central Asia to northwestern India during the last two centuries B.C. ultimately contributed to the transmission of Buddhism and other South Asian cultural features (languages, writing systems, and art) in the other direction—from the Northwest to Central Asia and East Asia. Although the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas are only vaguely recalled in Indian literary traditions as troublesome foreigners posing threats to *dharma* (virtually indistinguishable from the Yavanas, Hūṇas, and Turuṣkas who came before and after), their entry and eventual assimilation into Indian society had considerable impact on the political order, economic relations, and visual/material culture. The multicultural milieu of ancient Gandhāra, Taxila, and Mathurā was an environment conducive to the import, exchange, and combination of Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic, and Central Asian elements. Śaka Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇa Mahārājas were able to establish themselves as ruling powers in the northwestern borderlands, where normative rules against contact with foreigners were not as strictly observed as in Āryāvarta proper. Śaka and Kuṣāṇa patronage of Buddhism (as well as other Indian and Iranian religions) contributed to the growth of monastic networks and shrines on routes which had been used for earlier migrations across the Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and Pamir mountains. Links between the so-called silk routes of Central Asia and the *uttarāpatha* of South Asia facilitated trans-Asian long-distance trade and the early transmission of Buddhism. Although the *Vieille Route* across the Hindu Kush of Afghanistan from Bactria to Taxila (as mapped by Alfred Foucher) is more widely known,[141] petroglyphs and graffiti inscriptions in northern Pakistan demonstrate that numerous alternative routes through the deep valleys of the upper Indus, Gilgit, and Hunza rivers directly connected Gandhāra, Swat, and Kashmir with the Tarim Basin. The movement of Buddhist monks from Gandhāra, Kashmir, and northern India to Central Asia and China and the travels of Chinese Buddhist monks to India along these routes through the "Hanging Passages" are frequently attested

[141] Alfred Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, 2 vols. Memoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan I–II (Paris, 1942–1947).

in Chinese hagiographic literature. Patterns of travel and transmission were therefore not unidirectional from South Asia to Central Asia and China or vice versa, but overlapped considerably for several centuries after the periods of Śaka and Kuṣāṇa migrations. The paths for their passages to India also served as pathways out of India for Buddhist monks, merchants, and missionaries on their way to Central Asia and East Asia.

Illustrations

Fig. 3.1 Imit (Ishkoman Valley) bronze rhyton with a spout in the form of a centaur holding an ibex. Photograph after *Crossroads of Asia*, E. Errington and J. Cribb eds. (Cambridge, 1992), 20.

Fig. 3.2 Inscribed silver Buddhist Reliquary with an ibex figure joined to the top (late first century B.C./early first century A.D.). Photograph courtesy of the Miho Museum, Japan.

Fig. 3.3 Kandia valley bronze plaque in the shape of an ibex with shoulders and rear legs in an s-shaped spiral. Photograph courtesy of the Heidelberg Academy for Humanities and Sciences, Germany.

Fig. 3.4 Chilas Bridge petroglyph of an animal style scene in which a felid (snow leopard?) pursues a caprinus (ibex?). Photograph courtesy of the Heidelberg Academy for Humanities and Sciences, Germany.

CHAPTER FOUR

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR A CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PRE-KANIṢKAN ART, FROM KHALCHAYAN TO GANDHĀRA

David W. Mac Dowall

Coins are fundamentally different from other objects of antique art in that they are produced in substantial numbers by a mint—which is a government establishment that must have been given specific instructions about the types and legends to be employed. It is possible for 20,000 or more coins to be struck by a single die, and most types survive in substantial numbers. Unlike Roman coins, few coins (other than Parthian tetradrachms dated in the Seleucid era), have a specific date; but many coins can be placed in relative sequences, by careful numismatic analysis, die studies, the identification of overstrikes, studying the composition of successive issues and of course alterations in titulature and other information deduced from legends and coin types. Coins are also durable objects and remained in use for considerable periods. It must be remembered that even the relative chronology that may be established relates to date of issue and not necessarily to a date at which they remained in current circulation.

They are, moreover, used to store wealth and act as a medium of exchange for trade. New coin issues must therefore be broadly compatible with existing coinage and simply add to the stock in current circulation. This makes it possible in most cases to put successive issues in broad sequence. Different numismatists may, however, come to different conclusions and it is always necessary to test the assumptions and be satisfied with the logic of the arguments offered. There are many pitfalls and this lies behind the different conclusions that may sometimes be drawn by different numismatists.

Although most coins are undated, they do bear the name of the ruler responsible for issuing them. Unfortunately, there are sometimes two or more kings with the same name; some coins are widely copied, and some coin types become fossilized and there may be later "posthumous" issues bearing an earlier king's name. Modern

forgeries must obviously be excluded and ancient forgeries recognized when coins are placed in any relative sequence. But even when this is carefully presented all that a careful numismatist can be expected to establish is a soundly based relative chronology of coins issued in a particular locality. Beware of those who offer specific dates "on the numismatic evidence". The basic data in any such relative chronologies must always be considered in relation to any absolute (or relative) dating evidence available from literary sources and epigraphic evidence.

The coinages fall into four principal groupings, one in Bactria (Afghanistan north of the Hindu Kush), a second in the Paropamisadae (east Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush), a third in Gandhāra and Taxila (north Pakistan between the Kunar and Hypanis Rivers) and a fourth in the east Pānjab (between Sialkot and Mathurā).

The Coinage of Bactria

There is no problem in reconstructing the sequence of the coins of the principal Greek rulers of Bactria. Several names are known from references by ancient historians, linked to specific dated events in the West. The first king was the Seleucid Satrap Diodotus,[1] who became independent c. 250 B.C. and was succeeded by his son of the same name.[2] Diodotus II was in turn overthrown by Euthydemus I, who was king at the time of the two year siege of Bactra by the Seleucid Antiochus III in 208–206 B.C.[3] Peace was negotiated by Euthydemus' son Demetrius I, who went on to conquer India after the withdrawal of the Seleucid army.[4] He was followed by Euthydemus

[1] Otto Seel, ed. *M. Ivniani Ivstini Epitome Historiarum Philipppicarum Pompei Trogi, accedit prologi in Pompeium Trogum* (Stuttgart, 1972), book 41: 4, 5–9.

[2] There has been great dispute about the attribution of coinage between Diodotos I and II. The die studies of Sergei Kovalenko, "The Coinage of Diodotos I and Diodotos II, Greek Kings of Bactria," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995–1996), 17–74 and Frank L. Holt "A Catalog of Diodotid Coinage in Silver and Gold" in *Thundering Zeus* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1999), 139–171 provide convincing solutions.

[3] Evelyn S. Shuckburgh trans. from the text of F. Hultsch, *The Histories of Polybius* (London, 1889), book 10:49.

[4] Horace Leonard Jones ed. and trans., The *Geography of Strabo* vol. 7 (Cambridge Mass., 1961), book 11:11,2.

II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Antimachus Theos.[5] Eucratides became king of Bactria at almost the same time as Mithradates became king of Parthia (c. 171 B.C.).[6] The second phase of the silver coinage of Eucratides I, with a helmeted head and the title "Great King" (Fig. 4.1),[7] was copied in the silver coinage of Timarchus, the Seleucid general of the Median satrapy who revolted in 162 B.C.[8]

Coinage in silver alone, with no subsidiary copper denominations, is known for the later Greek kings—Eucratides II, Heliocles I and Plato.[9] In 129/128 B.C. the Chinese envoy Ch'ang Ch'ien stayed with the Yuezhi whom he describes as "masters of Bactria".[10] By then, Greek rule in Bactria was over.

The Bactrian kings seem to have used the regnal years of their kings for dating purposes. The Tax receipt from Asangorna in Bactria[11] is dated in year 4 of Antimachus Theos, Eumenes, and Antimachus (Nikephorus?). A date of year 24 was found on a vase from the destruction level at Aï Khanoum,[12] and as Eucratides was the last Greek king whose copper coins are found at the site, this has been interpreted as a regnal year. Although there is little doubt about the order in which the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria were struck, nothing specific is known about the length of the reign of any particular king. Estimated dates are usually based on the relative frequency or scarcity of the coins.[13] This gives some indication, but other factors of which we are unaware may well have been involved. All that we can safely say is that their coinage spans the period of 120 years between 250 and 130 B.C.

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[5] Osmund Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactiennes et Indo-Grecques, Catalogue Raisonné, Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1991), 55–62.

[6] Seel 1972, book 41: 6,1.

[7] Bopearachchi 1991, 68–69.

[8] Arthur Houghton, "Timarchus as king in Babylonia," *Revue Numismatique* 1979, 213–217.

[9] Bopearachchi 1991, 72–76.

[10] Shih-Chu, *Historical Records* chapter 123. See Joanna E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period* (Leiden, 1949) 30–31.

[11] J.R. Rea, R.C. Senior, A. Hollis, "A Tax Receipt from Ancient Bactria," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994), 268–280.

[12] Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles Inscriptions Śaka: ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azes, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniṣka," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 67 (1980), 36–37.

[13] Bopearachchi 1991, 41–141.

After the fall of the Greek kings, increasingly barbarous copies of some of the more common Graeco-Bactrian silver coins provided local currencies for the new rulers:

(a) Independent Sogdiana (modern Uzbekistan) struck debased silver coins copying the Attic silver tetradrachms of Euthydemus I with the reverse type of Hercules resting his club on his right knee, seated left on a pile of rocks.[14] The legend became increasingly corrupt, the portrait and reverse type were more and more stylized, the weight and silver purity reduced and eventually an Aramaic legend was introduced.[15]

(b) Near Termez, on the Rivers Oxus and Amu Daria (modern Tadjikistan), coinage was provided by copies of the Attic silver tetradrachms and drachms of Heliocles I,[16] with the reverse type of Zeus holding a thunderbolt. The legend soon became corrupt and the silver debased into copper. On later copies the thunderbolt became attached to the original monogram and resembled an inverted trident, while the figure of Zeus was given a radiate head.[17] This debased and corrupted type was eventually used as a model for the copper drachms of the early Kuṣāṇa King Soter Megas in the first century A.D.[18] It must have remained in use for some two hundred years.

(c) Along the Oxus and Kafirnigan Rivers (further to the east in Tadjikistan) there was a silver coinage[19] copying the Attic silver of Eucratides I from the later issue with a helmeted head. The silver purity was reduced with time. To this denominational pattern, the silver tetradrachms and obols of the early Kuṣāṇa King Heraeus clearly belong.[20] The obverse head does not, however, follow the form of the Eucratides copies. It is an individual portrait of a local chieftain, with features ethnically similar to faces found on the stucco busts from Khalchayan.[21] The tetradrachm portrait is surrounded by the reel and pellet border that had

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[14] Michael B. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, (London, 1975–1976), 9 Volumes, 288.
[15] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 289–293.
[16] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 160–161.
[17] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 298–299.
[18] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 508.
[19] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 295.
[20] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 304–305.
[21] G.A. Pugenkova, *Kalchayan*, (Tashkent, 1966), 193–208.

been used by Eucratides I and the copies.[22] The reverse type of Heraeus is new—a horseman crowned with a wreath by a Nike flying behind him—a motif inspired apparently by the early tetradrachms of Gondophares I.[23]

The Graeco-Bactrian Conquest of India

Strabo describes how the Graeco-Bactrians became masters of Ariana and India. Their conquests were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus king of the Bactrians. Demetrius wore the elephant headdress signifying the conqueror of India on his silver coinage when he had become king. The copper coins of Euthydemus, his father, however, are widely distributed in Seistān and Arachosia and the dedication by Heliodotus referring to "Euthydemus the greatest of kings and his son Demetrius (who is not yet king) the winner of a fine victory" suggest that Demetrius made his conquest as the heir and viceroy of his father.[24] Menander was the later Indo-Greek king responsible for conquests across Gandhāra and the Panjāb deep into north India.

The Coinage of the Paropamisadae

Later Graeco-Bactrian kings retained their Greek monolingual coinage on the Attic weight standard in Bactria, but introduced a new coinage with bilingual legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī (or Brāhmī) to serve their Indian provinces. Pantaleon and Agathocles struck oblong coppers modelled on the Mauryan oblong incuse copper coins they found in circulation.[25] The next major change was made by Eucratides, whose coins are rarely found east of the Indus. He tried to introduce a uniform coinage across Bactria and the Paropamisadae with

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[22] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 295.
[23] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 749 no. 1112.
[24] David W. Mac Dowall, "The Role of Demetrius in Arachosia and the Kabul Valley", in *Afghanistan Ancien Carrefour entre L'Est et L'Ouest* eds. O. Bopearachchi et M.-F. Boussac (Turnhout, 2005), 197–206.
[25] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 1, nos. 150–151.

Attic standard bilingual square coppers in both territories.[26] He came to power, as we have seen, about the same time as Mithradates became king of Parthia, c. 171 B.C. We know from the regnal dating found on a vase from the Treasury at Aï Khanoum that he had ruled for more than 24 years and this date, c. 147 B.C., is the last securely known date for any Indo-Greek king.

Subsequent Greek kings who ruled in the Paropamisadae,—namely Menander, Antialcidas and Lysias,[27] preferred to issue bilingual silver drachms (99% fine) on the Indian weight standard of c. 2.45 gm to replace the baser silver Mauryan Punch Marked kārṣāpaṇas. Hermaeus, the last Indo-Greek in the province, struck bilingual Indian tetradrachms and drachms containing 95% silver.[28] These were followed by substantial issues of posthumous imitation tetradrachms increasingly barbarous in style. They are struck in progressively debased silver.[29] In successive emissions the silver content drops from 94% to 85%, 66%, 33%, 11% and eventually less than 1%. They are clearly not coins of Hermaeus himself and have been attributed to Śakas by Senior,[30] to early Kuṣāṇas by Bopearachchi[31] and to later Greeks by Widemann.[32] There is however no doubt about their relative context and the sequence in which they were issued.

The copper tetradrachms of the posthumous Hermaeus are followed in the Paropamisadae by copper tetradrachms of Gondophares I and Abdagases of the Nike type and eventually by the copper tetradrachms of the Kuṣāṇa Kujūla Kadphises of the Hercules type. These sequences, based largely on the substantial number of coins found at Begram,[33] seem to be equally valid for adjacent areas in Gandhāra and Arachosia. Boundaries were not static and no doubt changed from time to time.

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[26] David W. Mac Dowall "Marks of value on the silver coinage of Eucratides I," *Numismatika i Epigraphika* (Moscow, 2005), 181–185.

[27] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 2, 121–128; 143–144; 149–150.

[28] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 3, 228–232.

[29] Osmund Bopearachchi "The Posthumous coinage of Hermaios and the Conquest of Gandhāra by the Kushans," in *Gandharan Art in Context*, eds. Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin, Neil Kreitman, Elizabeth Errington, (New Delhi, 1997), 189–213.

[30] R.C. Senior *The Coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians*, (Glastonbury, Somerset, 1999), 1–2.

[31] Bopearachchi 1997, 189–190.

[32] François Widemann "Scarcity of precious metals and Relative Chronology of Indo-Greek and Related Coinages," *East and West* 50 (2000), 227–255.

[33] David W. Mac Dowall "The Successors of the Indo-Greeks at Begram," *South Asian Archaeology* (1983), 555–566.

The Coinage of Gandhāra and Taxila

With the exception of Eucratides, coins of the kings found in the Paropamisadae are also represented in Gandhāra and Taxila. In addition, coins of other Indo-Greek kings such as Zoilus I, Heliocles II, Strato, Philoxenus and Archebius are also found there.[34] In spite of the complete absence of external datings, the coinages of the principal kings can still be placed in a relative sequence. This has been achieved by applying a range of well tested numismatic techniques, including the evidence of overstrikes,[35] changes in the titulature,[36] reductions in silver purity,[37] the developing pattern of monogram use,[38] and the analysis of hoards.[39] Into this sequence of Greek kings, the Indo Scythian Maues king of kings (Fig. 4.2) suddenly intrudes.[40] He had some sort of marriage alliance with one of the Indo-Greek families[41] and claims to be a successor of the Bactrian Greek king Demetrius I. He styled himself as conqueror of India when he copies the coin types of Demetrius.[42] Maues is succeeded by further Greek kings—Artemidorus, Apollodotus II (Fig. 4.3) and Hippostratus-[43] until they are replaced by the Indo- Scythian dynasty of Azes.

Jenkins'[44] careful study of the Azes coinages showed a clear sequence of an early king Azes I, succeeded by Azilises, who was in turn followed by a later king Azes II. Senior[45] has recently challenged this, claiming there is no place for Azilises and consequently there was only one king Azes, but he has not yet produced any convincing alternative sequence. What is absolutely clear is that there are three

[34] Sir John Marshall *Taxila* (Cambridge, 1951), 763–769.
[35] R.C. Senior and D. Mac Donald *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks. Monographs of the Hellenic Numismatic Society* 2 (Athens, 1998), 13–14.
[36] A.N. Lahiri "Titles and Epithets of Indo-Greek Rulers," *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1965), 256–262.
[37] See footnote 65.
[38] Bopearachchi 1991, 31–34 used as a guide to sequence throughout his catalogue.
[39] Senior and Mac Donald 1998, 55–56.
[40] A.D.H. Bivar "Maues at Taxila: problems of his arrival and political allegiance," *Journal of Central Asia* 7 (1984), 5–15.
[41] Senior and Mac Donald 1998, 55–56.
[42] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 469.
[43] Bopearachchi 1991, 125–141.
[44] G.K. Jenkins "Indo-Scythic Mints" *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 17.2 (1955), 1–26.
[45] R.C. Senior, *Indo-Scythic Coins and History* (London, 2001), vol. I, 89–90.

chronological stages in the extensive coinages struck in the name of Azes[46] in the Indus valley:

Stage 1 consisting of tetradrachms and drachms with the obverse type of a mounted king holding a long lance (Fig. 4.4), struck in good silver between 80 and 90%, accompanied by copper coins with the same range of mint control letters.

Stage 2 consisting of tetradrachms and drachms with the same obverse type of a mounted king holding a whip in his right hand (Fig. 4.5) struck in the same good quality silver, accompanied by copper coins with the same range of mint control letters.

Stage 3 consisting of tetradrachms and drachms with the same obverse type as Stage 2, but now struck in base billon (c. 10% silver or less). They are not accompanied by any parallel issue of copper denominations. The coins of Stage 3 belong to the period of the Great Debasement which Marshall[47] identified at Taxila about the time of the earthquake[48] which caused such great damage the city.

The following is the context of four related coinages, each with the "mounted king holding a whip" seen on the obverse of Azes Stages 2 and 3.

(a) Immediately before the Great Debasement we find the tetradrachms in good silver (89% fine) of Jihoṇika the satrap of Chukhsa, with copper coins imitating the coppers of Azes Stage 2.[49]
(b) In Bajaur there is a local billon coinage (with less than 8% silver) of Itravasu (Fig. 4.6) and Aśpavarman,[50] rājas of Apraca who had been local kings serving the Azes dynasty.
(c) At Taxila there are rare billon drachms of Rājūvula copying the Zeus Nikephorus billon tetradrachms of Azes Stage 3.
(d) In the middle Indus we see the first issue by Gondophares I of base silver tetradrachms with the king mounted holding a whip obverse (Fig. 4.7) (containing c. 20% silver) accompanied by square

[46] This is the sequence adopted by Jenkins. It seems equally valid whether there are two kings called Azes or one king who had a very long reign.
[47] Marshall 1951, 53.
[48] Marshall 1951, 63.
[49] David W. Mac Dowall "The Azes Hoard from Shaikhan-Dheri: Fresh evidence for the context of Jihoṇika" *South Asian Archaeology* (London, 1973), 215–230.
[50] Senior 2001, vol. 2, 136–143.

coppers providing small change.[51] The reverse type on these square coppers, a horseman being greeted by a Tyche (Fig. 4.8), is copied directly from the reverse of a tetradrachm of Artabanus II dated 334 in the Seleucid era, i.e. A.D. 22.[52]

The Indo-Parthians progressively took control of the mints in the north of the Panjāb and struck billon tetradrachms (containing c. 8% silver)—Gondophares at Puṣkalāvatī,[53] Abdagases (nephew of Gondophares) and Sases (the nephew of Aśpa, given the title of Gondophares) at Puṣkalāvatī[54] and Taxila.[55] Meanwhile the Kuṣāṇas moved forward, Kujūla Kadphises succeeding Jihoṇika in Chukhsa,[56] and Soter Megas succeeding Sases at Puṣkalāvatī.[57]

In the provinces of Gandhāra and Taxila we find clear evidence of the establishment and use during the first century B.C. of an era which began as a system of dating by the regnal years of Azes and was continued after his death as an era of Azes . The reliquary given by Priavaśa is dated in year 26 of Azes.[58] The dedication by Prahodi, a lady of the harem of Vijayamitra king of Apraca in year 32[59] seems to belong to a regnal year of Vijayamitra. The gold leaf inscription from Haḍḍa has a dating in year 39 of Azes.[60] On the other hand the reliquary of Indravarman, son of Vijayamitra king of Apraca is dated in year 63 of Azes deceased and by a regnal year 25 of Vijayamitra.[61] The dedication of Ramaka the maternal uncle of Indravarman is dated 'year 74 of the great mahārāja Azes of times past.[62] The so called "reliquary of Bhagamoya" is dated

[51] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 690–692.
[52] David Sellwood *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971), 192 nos. 63/1 to 63/4.
[53] Senior 2001, vol. 2, 155–157.
[54] Senior 2001, vol. 2, 160–165.
[55] Senior 2001, vol. 2, 167–172.
[56] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 690–692.
[57] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 767.
[58] Gérard Fussman "Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka (IV)" *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 74 (1985), 47–51.
[59] A. Sadakata "Inscription de Prahodi de l'an 32" *Journal Asiatique* 284 (1996): 302–305.
[60] A. Sadakata "Inscription de l'an 39 de Azes" *Journal Asiatique* 284 (1996): 305–308.
[61] Sir H.W. Bailey "Two Kharoṣṭhi casket inscriptions from Avaca," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1978): 3–13; A.D.H. Bivar, "Azes and the Indravarma casket" *South Asian Archaeology* (1981): 369–376.
[62] Gérard Fussman "Dédicace de Ramaka, an 74" *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 67 (1980): 5–7.

"year 77 of mahārāja Azes whose time is past"[63] and a similar formula is used with the date of year 83 on the reliquary of Kopśaka.[64] The relatives mentioned in the inscription of the reliquary of Indravarman suggest an explanation. Indravarman was the son of Vijayamitra king of Apraca who was married to Ruhaṇakā, a daughter of Aji. The billon tetradrachms struck in Bajaur by Indravarman (the son of Vijayamitra) and his son Aśpavarman belong to the period of the Great Debasement after the end of Azes' coinages.[65]

There is no formal proof linking the Azes era with the Vikrama saṃvat of 58/57 B.C. But the Vikrama era[66] is a long continued reckoning that still remains in use in western India. Earlier records do not call it by a specific name. It was first known as the Kṛta era in Rājasthan, then "the pūrvā era of the Mālavas". Finally in the eighth century A.D. it was connected with the name of Vikramāditya. Its date of origin is certainly very close to the period of Azes' accession and it seems very likely that the eras are identical.

In the Indus valley the coinage of Gondophares consisted of billon tetradrachms modelled on the preceding Indo-Scythian coinage of Azes II with the obverse type of the king mounted on horseback, holding a whip in his raised right hand. The initial issue had the reverse type of Śiva holding a trident.[67] A Nike flies behind crowning the king, a motif seen on the obverse of the base silver tetradrachms of the early Kuṣāṇa king Heraeus.[68] A silver content of some 20% warranted the issue of a subsidiary square denomination where the king on horseback receives a wreath from a Nike standing in front; this is a device copied from the reverse type of Artabanus II dated

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[63] Sir H.W. Bailey "Two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1982), 150–155; B.N. Mukherji "Farewell to Bhagamoya" *South Asian Studies* 13 (1997), 141–144.

[64] Gérard Fussman "Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka (II)" *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 73 (1984), 38–46.

[65] The percentages of silver quoted throughout this paper are taken from the preliminary results of a project with Dr Peter Northover of the Department of Material Science in the University of Oxford to undertake a series of analyses by EPMA (Electron probe micro analysis).

[66] D.C. Sircar *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), 251–258; Raj Bali Pandey *Vikramāditya of Ujjayini* (Banaras, 1951).

[67] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 749.

[68] Joe Cribb "The Heraus coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujūla Kadphises, c. A.D. 30–80." *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, eds. Martin Price, Andrew Burnett and Roger Bland (London, 1993): 107–134.

in year 334 of the Seleucid era i.e. A.D. 22.[69] In the Indus valley Gondophares was succeeded by his nephew Abdagases and then by Sases.[70]

In the series of the copper tetradrachms of the Nike type from the Paropamisadae and Arachosia (Fig. 4.9), we have further evidence of the broad contemporaneity of Gondophares with Kujūla, the Kuṣāṇa, and Jihoṇika the independent satrap. A copper tetradrachm of Gondophares overstrikes one of posthumous Hermaeus (Fig. 4.10)[71] and copper coins of Gondophares are overstruck by Kujūla Kadphises (Fig. 4.11)[72] and Jihoṇika.[73]

In the series of silver drachms of the Parthian type from Aria, Abdagases, the nephew and successor of Gondophares, was the first Indo-Parthian king to introduce a Pahlavi legend behind the king's head (Fig. 4.12).[74] In this he was copying the innovation introduced on the silver drachms of the main Parthian series by Vologases I (A.D. 50–78). The innovation consisted of placing the initial letters of the king's name in Pahlavi behind the royal bust.[75]

Gondophares is also known from the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of year l03 (in the Azes era sequence) in year 26 (i.e. of his reign).[76] This gives A.D. 19 for the accession of Gondophares with a long subsequent reign up to and beyond A.D. 45. This is entirely consistent with the Christian tradition in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas, first seen in the Syriac text from the third century A.D.[77] The Apostle St. Thomas entered the service of a Jewish merchant of King Gundaphar. He travelled by ship to India, where he was instructed to build a palace. He failed to do so and was imprisoned only to be released by the intercession of Gad, the brother of the

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[69] Sellwood 1971, 192 nos. 63/1–64/4: B.N. Mukherji "A Note on the Date of Gondophares I" *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1961–1962): 239–241.

[70] Senior 2001, 173–197.

[71] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol 8, 735, no. 1086a.

[72] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 8, 735, no. 1086b.

[73] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 8, 735, no. 1086c. Other examples are published by F. Widemann, "Une surfrappe de Gondophares et une autre de Kozoulo Kadphises sur Gondophares qui apportent deux jalons numismatiques à la chronologie entre les Indo-Grecs et le debut de l'empire kouchan," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 27 (1972): 147.

[74] Senior 2001, 166.

[75] Sellwood 1971, 225.

[76] Sten Konow *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. 2. pt. 1 (Calcutta), 1929), 57–65.

[77] Montague R. James ed. and trans. *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), 364–438.

king. This has long been regarded as the cornerstone of Indo-Parthian chronology. But in a recent study, Senior[78] argued that the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription refers not to Gondophares but to "Gondophares Sases", the successor of Abdagases (nephew of Gondophares I). The billon tetradrachms of Sases usually give his name as Gondophares Sases in the obverse and/or reverse legend. Earlier numismatists attributed to Gondophares coins with the inscription Sasa.[79] Vincent Smith[80] considered "Sasa" as a mere epithet, but was unable to fix its meaning. It is now however certain that Sases is the name of a separate king who succeeds Abdagases. The reasons are as follows:

(a) Sasasa and Sasou occur in the exergue, the space below the central design of the type. This is the traditional place for the king's name.
(b) When the legend is shortened, Gondophares not Sases is omitted.
(c) When Sases assumes the higher title of mahārāja on billon tetradrachms later in his reign he uses the name "Sasasa" only, not "Gudapharasa Sasasa".
(d) We now know from the legends on the billon Pallas type drachms of the east Panjāb that rulers after Abdagases used Gudaphara as a title in addition to their personal name, presumably to emphasize the legitimacy of their succession from Gondophares.[81]
(e) Senior's argument that the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription refers to Sases requires the accession of Sases in A.D. 19 and puts Gondophares the Great two generations earlier c. 50 to 55 B.C. This conflicts with the evidence of Isidore of Charax, who in the first years of the first century A.D. describes the land route across Parthia up to Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia "as far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians.[82] In the time of Gondophares I, Arachosia and the Indus valley were under the same ruler and there was no political boundary at Alexandropolis.

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[78] R.C. Senior *From Gondophares to Kanishka* (Glastonbury, Somerset, 1997), 1–11.

[79] R.B. Whitehead *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914), 147–149.

[80] Vincent A. Smith *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1906), 54 fn. 4.

[81] Joe Cribb "New evidence for Indo-Parthian Political History" *Coin Hoards* 7 (1985): 282–297.

[82] Wilfred H. Schoff, ed. and trans., *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax* (London, 1914), 19.

Before the end of the coinage of Azes Stage 2, we must attribute the independent coinage of Jihoṇika (Zeionises) the satrap of Chuksa (Fig. 4.13).[83] His tetradrachms copy the standard obverse type of Azes Stage 2. They are struck in good silver c. 88% fine and come before the Great Debasement at Taxila. His copper coins (Fig. 4.14) copy the obverse and reverse types—the bull and lion—of Azes Stage 2 in Gandhāra. They overstrike the Nike type copper tetradrachms of Gondophares I and are in turn copied by local Kashmir coppers of the Bull/Bactrian camel type of Kujūla Kadphises (Fig. 4.15),[84] while the debased billon tetradrachms of posthumous Azes type found in the Bīmarān reliquary (Fig. 4.16) copy the standing Tyche from Jihoṇika's tetradrachms. I have argued that the date of the Great Debasement and earthquake at Taxila must antedate the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to Taxila in A.D. 42.[85] Philostratus comments that the people who live between the River Kophen and Taxila have a coinage not of gold and silver but of orichalcum and black brass. He describes the houses designed so that if you look at them from the outside, they appear to have only one storey, but if you go inside, they have underground rooms as well—the distinctive form of design adopted after the earthquake. The fact that a Nike type copper coin of Gondophares I is overstruck by Jihoṇika provides the terminus postquem of A.D. 19, the date of Gondophares' accession and a context of A.D. 20 to 30 for the rule of Jihoṇika. Jihoṇika's name also occurs in the inscription with the numeral 191 on the Taxila silver vase of duck shape.[86] Long interpreted as a date which would give a context of A.D. 36 if referred to the supposed era of 155 B.C., it has now been correctly interpreted as a weight of 191 kā (rṣāpaṇas)[87] of the silver vase belonging to Jihoṇika the satrap of Chuksa.

[83] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 592–595.

[84] Mitchiner 1975–1976, 690–692.

[85] F.C. Coneybeare ed. and trans. *Philostratus. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (London and New York, 1912), book 2:7; and MacDowall 1973: 228.

[86] Konow 1929, 81–82.

[87] J. Cribb "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology." in *Art, Culture and Chronology*, eds. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Vienna, 1996), 196–197; and Senior 2001, 25.

The Coinage of the Early Kuṣāṇas

The relative sequence of the early Kuṣāṇa coinages is now well established and agreed:

(a) The local silver coinage of Heraeus (Fig. 4.17)[88] copied several features of the barbarous imitations of tetradrachms and obols of Eucratides found along the Amu Daria and Kafirnigan Rivers. The motif of the king on horseback being crowned by a winged Nike floating behind is very similar to the obverse type used in the initial issue of billon tetradrachms of Gondophares. This was the issue in which square copper coins show the king on horseback being greeted by Nike—a motif copied from a Parthian silver tetradrachm of Artabanus II dated 334 in the Seleucid era i.e. A.D. 22. It seems clear that this reverse motif of Heraeus was copied from Gondophares and must be later than A.D. 22.
(b) Kujūla Kadphises followed Heraeus. He struck a series of copper coinages in each of the localities that came under his control. His coins usually copied the denominations and sometimes the coin types of the rulers he replaced. A surprising innovation was the Roman head copper coinage found at Taxila (Fig. 4.18) copying the portrait denarii issued by Augustus and Tiberius from 2 B.C. to A.D. 37.[89] The copper coins of Kujūla only circulated in provinces south of the Hindu Kush mountains and not in Bactria.
(c) The coinages of the nameless king "Soter Megas" (Fig. 4.19) follow those of Kujūla Kadphises. Two major phases can be distinguished, namely an early period in which the coinages are copied from local types,[90] and a phase in which a standard type circulates throughout the whole Kuṣāṇa empire,[91] both north and south of the Hindu Kush mountains from Bactria to the eastern

[88] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 4, 304–305.
[89] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 8, 688. They copy the aurei and denarii of the type published by Harold Mattingly *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* Vol. 1 (London, 1923), 88–91 and 124–127.
[90] David W. MacDowall "Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushana" *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 30 (1968): 28–48.
[91] David W. MacDowall "The Rabatak Inscription and the Nameless Kushan King" *Cairo to Kabul. Afghan and Islamic Studies presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson,* eds. Warwick Ball and Leonard Harrow (London, 2002), 167–169.

Panjāb. Rare billon tetradrachms of Soter Megas (Fig. 4.20),[92] copying the types of Sases (Fig. 4.21) are occasionally overstruck on Sases.

(d) There was a local coinage in Kashmir, on which Cribb has read the legend Vima Taktu.[93]

(e) The coinages of Vima Kadphises followed those of Soter Megas. Vima introduced a new denomination of gold staters and a uniform standard coinage of copper tetradrachms that circulated throughout all the Kuṣāṇa provinces.

(f) Kaniṣka follows the basic coin pattern established by Vima Kadphises with staters and quarters in gold and tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms in copper.

A series of inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script found at Panjtār, Taxila, and Khalatse, in the Indus provinces, territories within the Azes empire and dated in the era of Azes, throw further light on early Kuṣāṇa chronology:

(i) the Panjtār stone inscription[94] from Salimpur in Gandhāra is dated in year 122 during the reign of the Great Kuṣāṇa king who is given no personal name.

(ii) the Kālawān copper plate[95] from the Kālawān monastery at Taxila dated 134 in the era of Azes.

(iii) the Taxila silver scroll[96] dated 136 in the era of Azes which mentions the Great King of Kings, the Son of Heaven the Kuṣāṇa. The great king given royal titles but no personal name in these three inscriptions seems to be the same as the nameless king[97] Soter Megas of the coins.

(iv) the Khalatse inscription[98] referring to Vima and dated in year 184 or 187 belongs to the next Kuṣāṇa king Vima Kadphises.

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[92] Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 8, 767.

[93] J. Cribb "A new coin of Vima Kadphises, king of the Kushans" in *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World*, eds. Martin Price and Lionel Casson (Detroit, 1981), 29–37; and Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A new Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great" *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995–1996): 115–116.

[94] Konow 1929, 67–70.

[95] Marshall 1951, 327.

[96] Konow 1929, 70–77.

[97] Mac Dowall 1968, 47–48.

[98] Konow 1929, 79–81. The emendation of the date in the Khalatse inscription to 287 to coincide with the date in the Bactrian era known for Vima from Dasht-i-Nāwar seems unnecessary in view of the evidence of the Yuga of Sphujidhavaja.

The Bactrian inscription from Rabatak[99] 40 km. North of Pul-i-Khumrī records Kaniṣka's establishment of a sanctuary for Kujūla Kadphises his great grandfather, for Vima Tak . . . his grandfather, Vima Kadphises his father and himself. The inscription solves the problem of Kuṣāṇa genealogy, but throws no further light on chronology. However a series of inscriptions in Bactrian script found at Surkh Kotal and Dasht-i-Nāvur are dated in an unknown Bactrian era. They are from the provinces that had formed the core of the kingdom of the great Bactrian king Eucratides.

(i) The trilingual inscription from Dasht-i-Nāvur,[100] some 49 km west of Ghazni, originally attributed to Vima Kadphises, says in lines 2 to 7 of the Bactrian version "of the king of kings the great salvation, Vima Tak . . . the Kuṣāṇa". It is dated to year 279 in the same Bactrian era.
(ii) The Great Inscription from the main entrance of the Kuṣāṇa dynastic shrine at Surkh Kotal[101] near Pul-i-Khumrī describes it as the Kaniṣka Nikator sanctuary to which the lord king gave Kaniṣka's name. Soon after completion the sanctuary became waterless and desolate, but was restored under Huviṣka in year 31 of the Kuṣāṇa era.
(iii) The unfinished inscription from the same sanctuary has a date but the last two digits of the three digit number are simply sketched in roughly on the stone. Maricq[102] read the number as 285, Harmatta[103] read it as 299 and Bivar[104] as 279. Bivar argued convincingly that the date must have been cut by the engraver immediately before year 1 of the new era of Kaniṣka was introduced. As, however, 279 is now seen from Dasht-i-Nāvur to fall within the reign of Vima I Tak . . ., it cannot be the last year of Vima Kadphises and the accession year of Kaniṣka. A substantial gold and copper coinage is known for Vima Kadphises who seems to have had a long reign, and this makes 299 in the

[99] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995–1996: 77–96.
[100] Gérard Fussman "Documents Epigraphiques Kouchans" *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 61 (1974): 1–77.
[101] R. Curiel "Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal," *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954): 189–197.
[102] A. Maricq "Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal (Baghlan)" *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958): 345–440.
[103] J. Harmatta "The Great Bactrian Inscription" *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12 (1964): 373–471.
[104] A.D.H. Bivar "The Kanishka Dating from Surkh Kotal" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963): 498–502.

Bactrian era the most likely date for the accession of Kaniṣka.

The reference date of this Bactrian (Greek) era must be established before any absolute chronology can be determined. Fussman[105] connects it with Graeco-Bactrian independence from the Seleucids, c. 245 B.C. Bivar[106] interprets it as an era of Menander c. 155 B.C., when he conquered the Indus provinces. The date I prefer is an era derived from the accession of Eucratides c. 171 B.C. He was the last great Greek king who ruled Bactria, the Paropamisadae and adjacent parts of north Arachosia.

The Coinage of the East Panjāb

After the arrival of the Azes dynasty in Gandhāra and Taxila, the province of the East Panjāb, which had formed part of the territories of Apollodotus II, remained an Indo-Greek kingdom under his successors Dionysius, Zoilus II, Apollophanes, Strato II (Fig. 4.22) and Strato III,[107] each of whom retained the reverse types of Apollodotus II which had Athena Alkidemos on the silver and the tripod on their copper. During these issues the silver content of the drachms dropped from c. 94% under Apollodotus II to c. 35% under Apollophanes. The coinage is followed by increasingly barbarized silver drachms struck in the name of Mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula (Fig. 4.23)[108] with the same reverse type, dropping to billon with less than 10% silver. In the east Panjāb these issues were followed by debased billon drachms with the same types struck in the names of the Indo-Parthian kings Gondophares I, Abdagases, Sarpadanes and Sases (Fig. 4.24),[109] where the silver content has dropped to less than 3%. Again there is a firm relative sequence of coins and the rulers who issued them, but no clear external links which can provide an absolute dating. What is clear is that Rājūvula was succeeded in the east Panjāb by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares, and by his son Śoḍāsa at Mathurā. We know from the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription that

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105 Fussman 1974, 50.
106 Bivar 1963, 501, following W.W. Tarn *The Greeks in Bactria and India* 3rd ed. (Chicago, 1985), 494–452.
107 Bopearachchi 1991, 137–141.
108 Mitchiner 1975–1976, vol. 7, 604–605.
109 Cribb 1985, 282–287.

Gondophares was king from 77 to 103 in the Azes era (A.D. 19–45). The dedicatory inscription from Mathurā in Brāhmī script by Āmohinī mentions Śoḍāsa in year 42 or 72.[110] The reading is disputed and its era is uncertain. If the year is read as year 72 and attributed to the Azes era it would still be slightly early for Rājūvula. On the other hand, Rājūvula's rise was later than Azes and the Āmohinī inscription is probably better interpreted as 42 in a regnal year of Rājūvula turned into a local dynastic era by Śoḍāsa.

The Yuga of Sphujiddhavaja

In 1964 Pingree[111] published a first survey of the contents of the Yavana jātaka, written by Sphujiddhvaja in year 191. Falk[112] has now recognized that this work can produce an absolute dating for the era of the Kuṣāṇas. The text is quite explicit "a date Kuṣāṇa elapsed plus 149 produces Śaka elapsed". This gives A.D. 227 as the beginning of his Kuṣāṇa reckoning. Relating this to the second Kuṣāṇa century with dropped hundreds results in making A.D. 127 the starting point for the era of Kaniṣka. This in turn fixes the era of the Bactrian dates at Surkh Kotal. If the accession date of Kaniṣka is A.D. 127 and this year is 299 in the Bactrian era, it follows that the starting date of that era must be 171 B.C. That is the accession date of Eucratides, "about the same time as Mithradates in Parthia".

The Yo»a or Greek Era of 186/185 B.C.

It is therefore surprising that the triple dating in the new inscription of Vijayamitra in his 27th regnal year belongs to 73 in the Azes era and to 201 in the Yoṇa or Greek era.[113] This can hardly be the

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[110] H. Lüders, "A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400 A.D." Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica* 10 (1909), 1–226 no. 59.

[111] David Pingree "The Yavanajātaka of Sphujiddhvaja," *Journal of Oriental Research* 31 (Madras, 1961–1962), 16–31; and David Pingree ed. and trans. *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujiddhvaja* (Cambridge/London, 1978).

[112] Harry Falk "The Yuga of Sphujiddhavaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas" *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001), 121–136.

[113] Richard Salomon "The Indo-Greek era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist reliquary inscription," in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac eds. *Afghanistan. Ancient Carrefour entre L'Est et L'Ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), 359–401.

same Greek era that we deduced from the unfinished inscription at Surkh Kotal. There seem to have been two Greek eras, one dating from 186/185 B.C., the date of the conquest of India by Demetrius, the second dating from 171 B.C., the accession year of Eucratides king of Bactria who seized power from the Euthydemids.

The inscription dating from 186/185 B.C. came from Bajaur in Gandhāra, territory controlled by the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Azes. The first Indo-Scythian king Maues had made a marriage alliance with an Indo-Greek king's family. By wearing an elephant head-dress on his coins he had styled himself conqueror of India, as Demetrius and Alexander had done. He had moreover copied the trident reverse type used by Demetrius. We can therefore regard 186/185 B.C. as an Indo-Greek era.

The three inscriptions using the 171 B.C. era came from Surkh Kotal in Bactria and Dasht-i-Nāvur in the Paropamisadae. Eucratides was the Bactrian king who had fought against Demetrius and sought to co-ordinate the administration and coinage of Bactria with that of the Paropamisadae. With him the Kuṣāṇas obviously had an affinity. Early in their empire they had ruled the same territories. 171 B.C. can therefore be regarded as the beginning of a Graeco-Bactrian era.

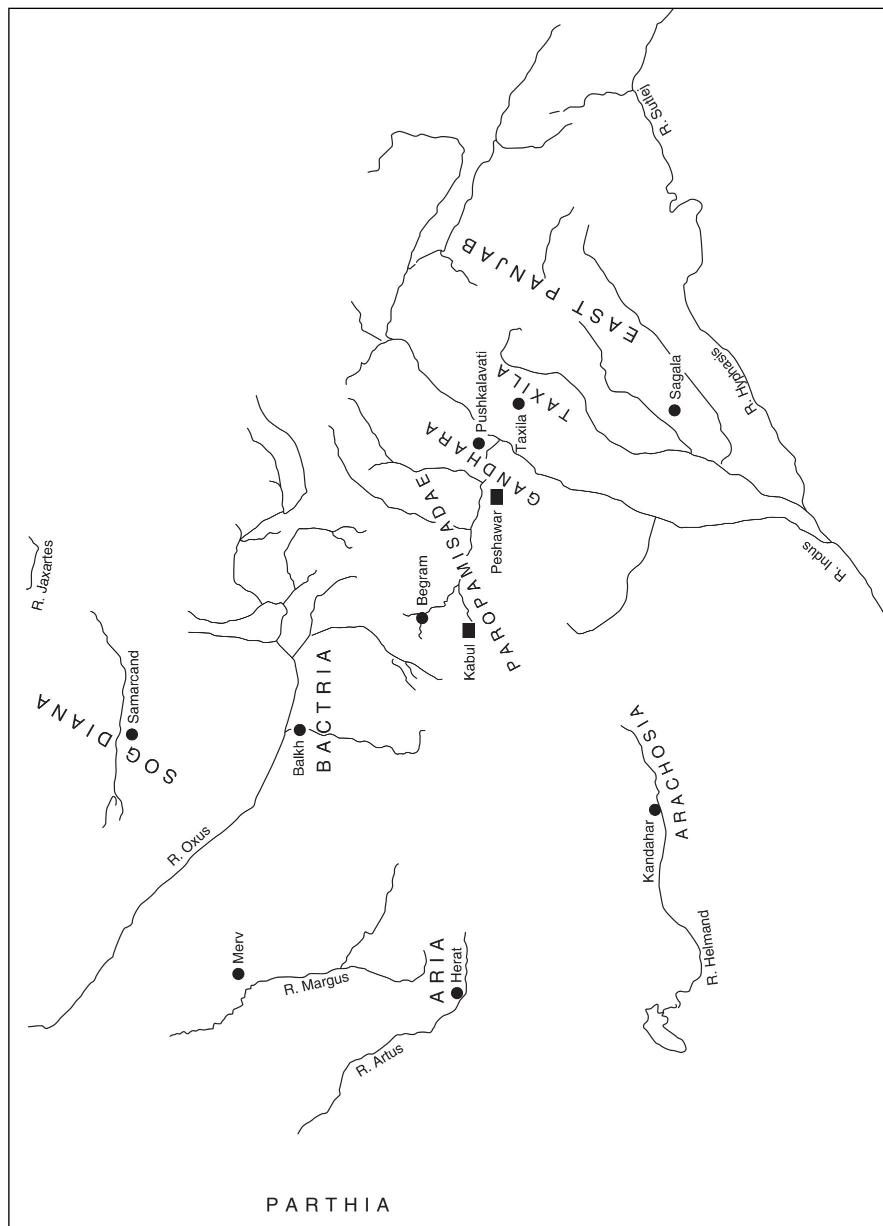
In conclusion

With full attention to the tools and methods of numismatic analysis, it is usually possible to suggest a relative chronology for the coinages. Absolute dates can rarely be established by numismatic methods alone. But read in conjunction with external datings and the evidence of inscriptions with era datings, the relative numismatic sequences that have been securely established can indicate which disputed readings of year numbers are possible and consistent with the numismatic evidence. More problematic is the attribution of reference years for possible eras. But Falk's interpretation of the Yuga of Sphujiddhavaja suggests a convincing absolute dating of A.D. 127 for the era of Kaniṣka, and we can infer the existence of both a Graeco-Bactrian and an Indo-Greek era.

Appendix	*Chronological Framework*	
Diodotus I	Became independent king of Bactria Justin *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus 41.4.5.	c. 250 B.C.
Diodotus II	Succeeded father as king. Justin *Epitome* 41.4.9	
Euthydemus I	Besieged at Bactra by Antiochus III Polybius *Histories* 10.49	208–206 B.C.
Demetrius I	Son of Euthydemus conquered part of India. Strabo *Geography* 11.11.2	Post 206 B.C.
Eucratides I	Rose to power about same time as Mithradates. Justin *Epitome* 41.6.1	c. 171 B.C.
Antimachus I	Called "Theos"—title on coins first used by Antiochus IV in	169 B.C.
Eucratides	Helmeted head coins with title "Megas" were copied by Timarchus Seleucid satrap of Babylon who revolted against Demetrius.	162 B.C.
	yr. 24 on vase from the destruction level in the Treasury at Aï Khanoum, a regnal year of Eucratides.	147 B.C.
Yüezhi	Masters of Bactria Shih-Chu, *Historical Records*, 123	129/128 B.C.
Maues	Termed "King of Kings". First adopted in Parthia by Mithradates II c. 123–88 B.C.—probably in 109 B.C.	Post 109 B.C.
Apollodotus II	First Indo-Greek king to term himself "Philopater". The earliest use by Arsacid kings of Parthia was 90–77 B.C. Coins of Maues are overstruck by Apollodotus II who followed him	Post 90 B.C.
Azes I	Accession-era identified with Vikrama Era.	58/57 B.C.
	Regnal year 26 of Azes on reliquary, the gift of Priavaśa.	32 B.C.
	Accession Vijayamitra the King of Apraca, deduced from double dating of the Indravarman reliquary.	20 B.C.
	yr. 39 of Azes gold leaf inscription from Haḍḍa.	19 B.C.
	Regnal year 5 of Vijayamitra, King of Apraca on the Bajaur (Shinkot) reliquary.	15 B.C.

Post Azes I	yr. 63 of Azes, Prince Indravarman son of King of Apraca established relics in regnal year 25	A.D. 5
	Regnal year 32 of Vijayamitra. Dedication by Prahodi of the harem of Vijayamitra.	A.D. 12
	yr. 74 of Azes. Dedication of Ramaka.	A.D. 16
	yr. 77 of Azes. Reliquary of "Bhagamoya".	A.D. 19
Gondophares I	Accession deduced from double dating of Takht-i-Bāhī stone inscription.	A.D. 19
Itravasu	Son of Vijayamitra King of Apraca 20 B.C.–A.D. 19	(say A.D. 20–30)
Aspavarma	Grandson of Vijayamitra King of Apraca.	(say A.D. 30–60)
Gondophares I	Copies reverse type of Parthian king Artabanus II, Seleucid era yr.334 (A.D. 22). Tyche greeting the king.	Post A.D. 22
Heraus	Early Kuṣāṇa ruler in Bactria copies the type of Nike crowning the king on horseback of this issue of Gondophares	Post A.D. 22
	and on coppers of Jihonika the satrap	c. A.D. 20–30
Gondophares I	yr. 103 Gondophares, regnal year 26 on the Takht-i-Bāhī stone.	A.D. 45
Abdagases	Nephew of Gondophares introduces Pahlavi legend on drachms from Aria copying the introduction of Pahlavi on drachms of Parthia by Volagases I (A.D. 50–78).	Post A.D. 50
Kujūla Kadphises	Early Kuṣāṇa king copies on his "Roman head" coppers the obverse of denarii of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius	2 B.C.– A.D. 37
	Overstrikes Nike type copper tetradrachms of Gondophares	A.D. 19–45
Soter Megas	Nameless Kuṣāṇa king, his billon tetradrachms copy and are known to have overstruck the billon tetradrachms of Sases, the nephew of Aspa.	
	yr. 122 the nameless Kuṣāṇa king seen in the Panjtār stone inscription.	A.D. 64

	yr. 134 of Azes—Kālawān copper plate inscription.	A.D. 76
	yr. 136 of Azes—Taxila silver scroll from Dharmarajika.	A.D. 78
Vima Tak(. . .)	yr. 279 in Bactrian era. Dasht-i-Nāwar trilingual inscription.	A.D. 108
Vima Kadphises	yr. 184 of Azes Khalatse (Ladakh) inscription of Vima, grandson of Kujūla and father of Kaniṣka.	A.D. 126
Kaniṣka	The Yuga of Sphujiddhavaja	A.D. 127
	yr. 299 in Bactrian era. Surkh Kotal (Bactria) unfinished inscription. Initial year of Kaniṣka.	


R. Sutlej
EAST PANJAB
R. Hyphasis
Sagala
TAXILA
Taxila
Pushkalavati
GANDHARA
Peshawar
R. Indus
PAROPAMISADAE
Begram
Kabul
R. Jaxartes
Samarcand
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
Balkh
R. Oxus
ARACHOSIA
Kandahar
R. Helmand
Merv
R. Margus
ARIA
Herat
R. Artus
PARTHIA

CHAPTER FIVE

ACROLITHS FROM BACTRIA AND GANDHĀRA

Osmund Bopearachchi

The aim of this paper is to show, in the light of new evidence, that the marble head from Peshawar now in the collection of George Ortis (Vandoeuvres) was originally a part of an acrolithic statue and then to provide examples of acrolithic and pieced images from Greece to Bactria, and then to Gandhāra. In recent years, the so-called Bodhisattva head from Peshawar has drawn the attention of both classical and Indian art historians.[1] This masterpiece has caused a lot of ink to flow because of its originality compared to other forms of Gandhāra art but no one has really been interested in investigating how it was discovered or how it functioned.

The conquest of the Achaemenian satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia (329–327 B.C.) and the Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush (327–326 B.C.) by Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia (336–323 B.C.), provoked a political and cultural upheaval with far-reaching consequences throughout these regions. When former generals of Alexander the Great divided their master's kingdom among themselves, Seleucus I became the governor of Babylonia. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest of Alexander's generals and successors. In 306 he declared himself king and became the king of most of the satrapies of the old Achaemenian Empire, such as Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Parthia, Aria, Bactria and Sogdia. He was inferior only to Alexander himself, because he inherited more of his master's heritage than any of his contemporaries, namely lands from

[1] This marble head has been shown in recent exhibitions, for example, in London (George Ortis, *In pursuit of the absolute art of the ancient world from the George Ortis collection, The Royal Academy of Arts* [London, 1994]: 173), and in Paris (*Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire*, Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, [Paris, 2002]: 108–109). The same head was illustrated on the jacket of two books: John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*, (London, 1994) and Isao Kurita, *Gandhāran Art II, The World of the Buddha*, (Tokyo, 2003). I am most grateful to Paul Bernard and John Boardman for their valuable advice.

Ionia to the Hindu Kush. Seleucus I contested Alexander's Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush under the control of the Mauryan king Chandragupta but eventually agreed to cede them in exchange for a corps of 500 war elephants that he obtained from the Indian king.

According to Justin's abbreviated version of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* (XLI, 4), a kind of universal history, at the time when Parthia was beginning to attempt to throw off the yoke of the Seleucids (towards the middle of the third century B.C.), a certain Diodotus, who was then the Seleucid satrap of Bactria, revolted against his suzerain, and gave birth to an independent kingdom in Bactria. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Diodotus was succeeded by a son of the same name c. 239/8 B.C. and he was in turn overthrown by Euthydemus I. With the birth of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, Greek traditions began to take shape in architecture, sculpture and coinage.

One of the most significant contributions towards a better understanding of the presence of the Greeks in Bactria was made by the discovery of the ancient Greek city of Aï Khanoum by French archaeologists led by Prof. P. Bernard, former Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (D.A.F.A.). The ruins of Aï Khanoum stand on the left bank of the Oxus at the meeting point of its tributary, the Kokcha. The choice of this triangular area at the confluence of the Oxus and the Kokcha rivers as a city site seems to have been strategic, because it was so well placed as a military outpost to control the eastern territories of ancient Bactria. The topography of the site, with its natural acropolis about sixty metres higher than the surrounding terrain, and protected by the two rivers from the west and south, made it an ideal choice. The residential quarters and public buildings, namely the gymnasium[2] temple,[3] fortifications,[4] royal palace and administrative quarters[5] were built

[2] Serge Veuve, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, VI, Le Gymnase* (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXX), (Paris, 1987).

[3] Henri-Paul Francfort, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. III. Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées* (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXVII), (Paris, 1984).

[4] Pierre Leriche, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum V. Les remparts et les monuments associés* (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXIX), (Paris, 1986).

[5] Claude Rapin, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane* (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan,* XXXIII), (Paris, 1992).

on the lower part of the site, less exposed to the winds than the acropolis.[6]

The discoveries made at Aï Khanoum demonstrate how the Greek artists at Aï Khanoum not only remained loyal to the Greek traditions but also, to some degree, perpetuated the outdated classical style. For example, the mosaic floor of the palace bathroom, which displays dolphins, sea horses and sea monsters, has a field of dark red pebbles in a stucco floor instead of the square-cut stones of the so-called 'later style' which was then popular all over the Hellenistic world.[7] The same can be ascribed to the small sculptures. The group of sculptures, composed of a man wearing a wreath of leaves[8] and the bas-relief of a young man with a mantle thrown back over the shoulders,[9] manifests excellent workmanship, though the stylistic treatment is rather conventional. However, as Paul Bernard has correctly pointed out, the Graeco-Bactrian sculptors of Aï Khanoum should be given credit for such remarkable innovations as monumental statues and mural bas-reliefs. When they were asked to produce such sculpture, they exploited a technique rarely seen in Greece.[10] This was to build a framework of lead rods or wood and then model the figure on it. The most significant finds from the main temple, the outer wall of which was decorated with niches, were a sandaled foot and a number of fragments of an acrolithic cult statue.[11] The broken foot is two or three times larger than life-size. The technique of making acroliths was quite popular in Greece during the Hellenistic period and, according to this technique, the extremities of the statue, such as head, feet and hands. were of stone while the rest was made of wood or clay.

The Greek skills and traditions perpetuated in Aï Khanoum did not come to an end with the end of Greek power in Bactria

[6] Also see Paul Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I, (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, 2 Vols. (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXI), (Paris, 1973).

[7] Paul Bernard, "An ancient Greek city in Central Asia", *Scientific American,* 246, (1982): 148–159, particularly, 150.

[8] Paul Bernard, "Aï Khanoum, ville grecque aux confins de l'Orient barbare", *Archéologia*, 5, (1974): 100–114, see the cover page.

[9] Paul Bernard, 1974: 100–114, particularly, 113.

[10] Paul Bernard, 1982: 148–159, particularly, 158.

[11] Paul Bernard, "Quatrième campagne de fouilles à Aï Khanoum (Bactriane)", *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres,* (1969): 313–355.

c. 145 B.C.[12] The Greeks who ruled over the territories south of the Hindu Kush for another 150 years continued their skills in Gandhāra. Their artistic influences are reflected in numismatics, sculptures, ceramics and architecture. As we shall see later, the marble sculpture from Peshawar representing most probably a Bodhisattva made according to the Greek acrolithic and pieced traditions shows the continuity of Greek models infiltrating into Indian Buddhist art.

Art historians have correctly emphasized the role of Greek art forms adopted in Gandhāra Buddhist art.[13] Yet we have to remember that the Gandhāran artists contributed immensely by giving an indigenous expression to such Greek forms. The marble head of the Bodhisattva from Peshawar is the fruit of this syncretism developed in a region where West met East. When referring to this marble head, John Boardman pointed out that the classicizing style and the excellence of the carving of the sculpture would be hard to match in the contemporary Mediterranean world.[14]

Painstaking investigations carried out in Pakistan enable me to answer many questions regarding the background of the discovery of the marble head. In August 2000, I was able to meet the Pushtun (or Pathan, the anglicized form of the word) who discovered the marble head of the Bodhisattva. The following description is based on his account. Since he wished to remain anonymous, I shall call him the 'Pathan'. In 1982, at Takal Bala, close to Peshawar airport, on the right hand side of the road leading to the Khyber Gate, bulldozers were used to level the ground in order to make new constructions for the Pakistan army. As Takal Bala is an extension of the ancient city of Puṣkālavatī, many Buddhist buildings were destroyed by the bulldozers. People in the vicinity started digging in the area at night in search of antiquities. Apparently no legal excavation had been undertaken prior to the construction works.

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[12] In the light of data obtained from the excavations, French archaeologists have shown that this Greek city came to an end with the nomadic invasion of c. 145 B.C. Once driven away, the Greek settlers never returned and it was completely abandoned. See Paul Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne* (*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXVIII), (Paris, 1985): 97–105; For a detailed discussion on the question, see Rapin,1992, 281–294.

[13] See for example Alfred Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du* Gandhāra, (Paris, 1905–18) and John Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, (Cambridge, 1960).

[14] Boardman, 1994, 145.

The marble head was found by the 'Pathan' along with a torso and some parts of the limbs, lying three to four metres below ground level. In the place where these pieces were found there had been a brick kiln which was destroyed during the levelling. The burnt marks visible on the face of the Bodhisattva are due to the high temperature produced by the kiln, which had been active for a number of years. The 'Pathan' excavated three rooms and marble sculptures were found in one of them. In the second room only terracotta sculptures were unearthed, one of which weighed fifty kilograms. The third room was decorated with bronze statutes. All the marble, bronze and terracotta figures were shattered on the ground, fallen either from the walls or from the pedestals. This may have been the result of earthquakes frequent in the area. In the room with the marble sculptures there were bases of square columns measuring 30 cm × 30 cm. Walls were made of baked bricks covered with stucco, painted red. The floor was made of red coloured floor bricks measuring 30 cm × 13 cm. The 'Pathan's' description reminded me of the palace complex of Khalchayan,[15] but apparently he had never heard of it. If he had known about the decorations of the palace walls with paintings and friezes, one could have imagined that his description was inspired by what he had read or heard about the Khalchayan complex.

I was shown three photographs of the marble sculpture taken a few days after its discovery (see Figs. 5.1–3). To my great surprise, the right eye, now missing, can be seen in the photograph of the face taken in 1982 (compare Fig. 5.1 with Fig. 5.8). The left eye, like the right one, was originally made separately and fitted into the cavity made for the purpose. It may have got lost when the head was dispatched to New York for sale. The head was originally gilded but, unfortunately, had been washed immediately after its discovery scrubbed with a thick brush and as a result the gilt had disappeared from the smooth surface. The photograph (see Fig. 5.1) was taken after the cleaning of the face. Then I was shown four broken pieces

[15] The palace complex of Khalchayan is situated on the right bank of the Surkhandarya near Denau in Uzbekistan. The walls of the complex were decorated with paintings and friezes of figures made of unbaked clay in high relief, painted mainly red and occasionally black and white. These friezes, composed of soldiers on horseback, divinities and princes, run from one wall to the other. See Galina Pugachenkova, *Khalčajan: K probleme khudoçestvennoi kul'tury Severnoj Baktrii*, (Tashkent, 1966).

of a hand measuring in descending order 16 cm, 15 cm, 11 cm and 10 cm. The diameter of the largest piece is 37 cm (Fig. 5.6. A–D). There were also two more well polished fragments, one of which certainly corresponds to the broken piece of left shoulder (see Fig. 5.7). The 'Pathan' showed me two photographs of the torso found along with the head (see Figs. 5.2 & 5.3). Then I was allowed to examine the torso, which was kept in a separate house. Five men carried the torso to the sitting room from its hiding place. At first glance it became obvious to me that the head and the torso were made of the same kind of marble and that stylistically they had been executed by the same sculptor (Fig. 5.4). The head, fragments of the hand and the torso were polished in the same way. Like the head, the torso was broken into several pieces; these had been reassembled using thick glue.

The torso is hollow, which may be considered an attempt to reduce the weight of the heavy marble (Fig. 5.5). The piece makes up the top portion of the bust including the right shoulder and the top of the right arm. The broad torso is well modelled and has gently rounded breasts, though the nipples are not explicitly rendered. Its lower portion is rounded and smooth (see Fig. 5.5). The navel is distinct above the soft modeling of the abdomen. The torso stops abruptly a few centimetres below the navel. The total height is 61 cm, the width varies from maximum 45 cm to minimum 40 cm. And the maximum diameter is 126 cm. Both front and back represent a muscular body reminiscent of classical sculpture. As we know, major sculpture in the round was not an important feature of Gandhāran art.[16] The marble head and torso were thus an exception in this respect. On the back of the torso two holes, one rectangular and the other circular, have been pierced into the thick marble. The depth of the circular hole is 29 cm. And a large area around the rectangular hole is flattened (see Fig. 5.3). The hole in the back of the head, measuring 3.2 cm × 2.6 cm and 4.8 cm in depth, can be linked to the two holes in the back of the torso (see Fig. 5.9). There

[16] In Gandhāran art, friezes and statues are usually placed against the walls of the *stūpas* or shrines, so the flattened back is not at all visible. For a very rare example of a statue meant to be seen from the front and the back, see *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, edited by Osmund Bopearachchi, Christian Landes et Christine Sachs, (Lattes, 2003) pp. 214–242, 267, no. 226. This sculpture depicts Buddha on one side and on the other Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.

are two ways to explain the function of these holes: firstly, the sculpture was placed against a wall and the holes in the head and torso were for the introduction of metallic gudgeons to support the heavy weight of the marble; secondly, and perhaps the most likely explanation, the holes were cut in order to fit a halo, as found in other Bodhisattva statues from Gandhāra.

Judging by the position of the remaining portions of the arm (see Fig. 5.3), it is obvious that the right arm was fixed into the torso by adding several pieces joined together with tenons. This is of course quite common in Gandhāra sculptures.[17] The rounded fragments found along with the torso and the head may be the remaining parts of the right hand. There are, however, no traces of the left hand and, curiously enough, on the left side of the torso, where one would expect to find the left arm, there is a sharply cut edge from top to bottom. As we shall see now, this is one important reason for considering this sculpture an acrolith.

Having carefully examined the head in Vandoeuvres and the rest of the hitherto unknown sculpture still lying in Peshawar, I came to the conclusion that the marble head was part of an acrolithic sculpture. Technically speaking, an acrolith is a statute of which the extremities of the fleshy parts of the body are made of marble and fitted onto a wooden structure. A variety of stone heads and extremities that were originally attached to wooden bodies are known in the Graeco-Roman world[18] and correspond to the acrolithic figures mentioned in literature.[19] The existence of such statues in ancient Greece is known to us thanks to the testimony of Pausanias, living c. 175 A.D. This Greek historian and geographer made allusion to wooden statues whose faces, feet and hands were of stone. Today, the term acrolith is applied to this type of sculpture. The statue of Athena Areia made by Pheidias for Plataia is an acrolith made of wood overlaid with gold except for the parts representing flesh, which were in Pentelic marble.[20] To this, we may also add, for example,

[17] See for example, Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*, (London, 1996), no 11.

[18] Two Roman statues with stone exteriors fitted into a wooden structure see, Giorgos Despinis, Ακρολιθα, (Athens. 1975), pls. 1–12.

[19] For a detailed discussion of these types of sculpture, see Bernard, 1969 313–355, particularly, 338–339.

[20] See B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, (Princeton, 1981): 169–70. Pentelicus is a mountain near Athens noted for its fine marble.

the statues of Aphrodite in Patrae. According to Pausanias: "In Patrae, not far from that of Poseidon, are sanctuaries of Aphrodite. One of the two images was drawn up by fishermen in a net a generation before my time. There are also quite near to the harbour two images of bronze, one of Ares the other of Poseidon. The image of Aphrodite, whose precinct too is by the harbour, has its face, hands and feet of stone, while the rest of the figure is made of wood".[21] We also learn from the same author that at Aegium in the ancient sanctuary, the statue of Eileithyia was covered from head to foot with finely-woven drapery; and it was of wood except the face, hands and feet, which were made of Pentelic marble.[22] Similarly the statue of Fortune at Elis was a colossal image, made of gilded wood, except for the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble.[23] The cult statue of Aphrodite in Megalopolis was also wooden, with hands, face and feet of stone.[24]

Apart from this textual evidence, quite a number of fragments belonging to acrolithic statues from the Roman World of the early republican period are also known.[25] Among them, the head of Juno from Pompeii dated to 80 B.C.,[26] the head from Rimini dated to the last quarter of the second century A.D.,[27] the head of Diana from Nemi also dated to the last quarter of the second century A.D.,[28] and the head of Alba dated to the first quarter of the first century A.D.[29] are well known.

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[21] W.H.S. Jones [trans.], *Pausanias. Description of Greece*, (London, 1933), VII, 21, 10.

[22] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1935, VIII, 23, 5–6.

[23] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1933, VI, 25, 4: "The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. In a portico of the sanctuary has been dedicated a colossal image, made of gilded wood except the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble".

[24] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1935, VIII, 31, 5–6: "Within the enclosure of the Great Goddesses is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite. Before the entrance are old wooden images of Hera, Apollo and the Muses, brought, it is said, from Trapezus, and in the temple are images made by Damophon, a wooden Hermes and a wooden Aphrodite with hands, face and feet of stone".

[25] For a detailed discussion of these statues, see Hanz Günther Martin, *Römiche Tempelkultbilder. Eine Archäologische Untersuchung zur Späten Republik*, (Rome, 1987).

[26] Martin 1987, p. 245. This head was found in the temple of Jupiter in the forum of Pompeii and is now kept in the National Museum of Naples.

[27] Martin, 1987, 230–1. This head (height 44.7 cm) with a well-shaped form and rough back is in the Museo archeologico comunali, Rimini.

[28] Martin, 1987, 236–7. This head (height 54 cm) was found in Room B at the northern wall of Nemi.

[29] Martin, 1987, 238–9. This head (height 83 cm) is now in the Museo di Antichita, Turin.

Let us now come back to the statue from Takal Bala (Peshawar). The whole sculpture was made in pieces, cut and polished separately, and then assembled. The head consists of two distinct parts. The chignon (uṣṇīṣa) is cut separately and fitted into the head with a large tenon (diameter 9 cm and height 6.5 cm). The total height of the bust is 58 cm. In the middle of the left shoulder a slightly oblique canal has been cut which today can be seen at the back of the bust, now in two pieces (see Fig. 5.9). In its present state of preservation, the length of this cavity is 11.5 cm. The missing part of the left shoulder remains in Peshawar with the 'Pathan' (see Fig. 5.7). The top left hand side of the torso has a similar hole pierced into it. Undoubtedly this cavity corresponds to the continuation of the canal pierced into the shoulder, so the total length of the canal could be about 15 cm. A close examination reveals that the head and the torso were made separately and put together. A metallic pin was introduced through the canal pierced into the bust and the torso to avoid any possible movement of the two parts.

The sculpture is made of white marble and, as mentioned earlier, the blackish and reddish spots which can be seen both on the head and the torso were certainly caused by the high temperature produced by the brick kiln. According to the results obtained from carbon and oxygen isotope testing carried out by the "Département des Sciences de la Terre, de l'Eau et de l'Espace" of the University of Montpellier II on a sample taken from the broken piece of the arm, the origin of the marble could be from Marmara in Anatolia. Similar results were obtained from the analyses done by the same methods by experts from the University of Georgia/Athens and the University of California/Davis on a sample taken from the head. The same provenance was given as the possible origin of the marble.[30] Although further analyses have to be made before coming to a final conclusion, it is evident that the marble used for this image is different from that of the Shahi period sculptures common in the seventh century A.D. in the Northwest Frontier Province in Pakistan. Even the Greek sculptures from Aï Khanoum are not of this kind of fine grain.

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[30] See Oleg Starza-Majewski, "A Kushan Gandhāra marble Bodhisattva head", *South Asian Studies*, 15, (1999): 23, n. 1.

If the marble was imported from Marmara or from another distant country, the sculpture should have had a special significance. If the story narrated by the 'Pathan' about the discovery is true, (and I do not see any reason to doubt it), the marble statue was erected in a sanctuary in a prominent place. It would have been a cult image. At the same time we can understand why the whole statue is not made of marble but only the exposed parts of the body and why the parts covered with drapery were made of a cheap material like wood. These features certainly define an acrolithic statue.

However, here we are confronted with another technical problem. As seen earlier, technically speaking, the acroliths are the statues of which the extremities, such as head, feet and hands were of stone while the rest was made of wood or clay. In the case of the marble Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala, the torso is also of the same marble. This sculpture thus has some aspects of the pieced statues.

Pieced statues are also well attested in the Roman world particularly during the early republican period.[31] In many cases head and torso were made from a single block of marble but arms, hips and legs were cut separately and joined together by introducing metal pins or gudgeons to the joints. A remarkable sculpture in this respect is the pieced marble statue of Jupiter found in the Capitol of Cumae.[32] The torso and the head are made from one block of marble 280 cm. high. If the statue were reconstructed in proportion with the remaining elements, the total height would be 4.50 m. Both shoulders are cut abruptly and flattened, with deep holes for the introduction of the separately made arms. This sculpture reminds us of the statue of enthroned Jupiter from Verospi, holding the sceptre in his raised left hand.[33]

I am certain, in spite of the presence of the marble torso, quite unusual for a traditional acrolithic statue, that the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala is an acrolith. Pieced statues in the classical world are made of the same material, marble in most cases. On close examination, it becomes obvious that the horizontally-cut border at the bottom of the torso was made in order to place it on a strong wooden structure. The same applies to the left arm. As already seen,

[31] For a detailed study, see Martin, 1987.

[32] See Martin,1987, 39. It is conserved in the National Museum of Naples, inventory number 6267.

[33] See Martin, 1987, 141, fig. 36. It is conserved in the Vatican Museum.

the abruptly cut edge on the left hand side of the torso with a vertically cut cavity, is meant to slot into a wooden structure, which may have had a wooden arm fitted into it. It is difficult say for sure whether the feet of the statue were made of marble, since not a single fragment of this part of the body was found by the 'Pathan'. It should be kept in mind, as he explained to me, that he did not make any attempt to unearth tiny fragments, if there were any. However, one cannot exclude the existence of feet, at least the extremities, made of marble, like the acrolith found in the *cella* of the main temple of Aï Khanoum.

The fragments of this cult statue and the faience head also from Aï Khanoum that I have recently published are the only examples of acroliths so far found in Bactria.[34] There are plenty of reasons to believe that the acrolithic statue of the Bodhisattva from Takal Bala was originally covered with real garments. This was a common practice in ancient Greece. According to Pausanias' account, some of the acroliths of his time were covered with drapery. The statue of Eileithyia at Aegium was covered from head to foot with finely-woven cloth.[35] If such statues were draped, only the visible areas of the body, the head, feet and hands needed to be rendered in an attractive material, namely stone. If the statue was not dressed, the wooden part of the body was gilded, as in the case of the acrolith of Fortune of the Eleans.[36] The contrast of white marble and gilded wood would have given a sensational visual effect.

I believe that the marble Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala was made in the acrolithic tradition partly for economic reasons. If the marble blocks were brought to Puṣkālavatī, from Anatolia, the price and the weight of this expensive, heavy material would have been a major handicap to completing the whole statue in marble. As a matter of fact, it was certainly for these reasons that the statue was made with the composite forms of a Greek acrolith. The same reasons cannot be given for the other statues made of schist, which is readily available everywhere in Gandhāra.

[34] Osmund Bopearachchi, "A faience head of a Graeco-Bactrian king from Ai Khanum" *in Alexander's Legacy in the East. Studies in honor of Paul Bernard, Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 12, ed. by Osmund Bopearachchi, Carol Altman and Frantz Grenet, (Michigan, 1998): 23–30.

[35] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1935, VIII, 23, 5–6.

[36] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1933, VI, 25, 4.

Art historians who have written about this marble head used two vital elements to associate the head with that of Bodhisattva: one is the *ūrṇā* and the other is the *ūṣnīṣa*.[37] V. Zwalf correctly observed, when describing the 'astonishing marble head', the exceptional iconography of the the *ūrṇā* and suggested that it could be of foreign workmanship.[38] Oleg Starza-Majewski is of the opinion that the cavity in the head is deep enough to have contained a relic or a gem.[39] He agrees with the hypothesis put forward by Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, who interpret the hole in the *ūsnīṣa* as the seat of one of the supreme powers of the Buddha. This would have been an attempt to represent the yogic power of the Śākyamuni.[40] Oleg Starza-Majewski further argues that the marble head shares some of the general characteristics of many other statues of a Bodhisattva, for example the longer, oval head, the coiffure of long rich curls, the narrower eyes, the smooth transition of the planes integrating the features and the prominent chin.[41] Curiously enough, no one has ever questioned the reason for the absence of earrings, necklace and diadem of strings of beads encircling the head. If the Bodhisattvas are represented in Gandhāran art as ornamented figures probably based on contemporary noblemen or wealthy people,[42] the absence of jewelery has to be explained. The problem becomes more serious when one observes that the torso is not at all decorated with the usual chain necklace of multiple strands with terminals of cross-hatched cylinders ending in facing horned monsters' heads, strings of bead necklaces from the left shoulder, passing over the upper right arm and particularly the cord below with amulets.

Only an acrolith will answer the questions raised regarding the absence of ornaments. I believe that the sculpture was both gilded and dressed like the statue of Eileithyia at Aegium which was covered

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[37] See note 1, and also Zwalf, London, 1996, 74, n. 65 and Starza-Majewski, 1999: 15–23.

[38] See note 1, and also Zwalf, London, 1996, 74, n. 65.

[39] Starza-Majewski, 1999: 15.

[40] Deborah Klimburg-Salter & Maurizio Taddei, "The uṣnīṣa and the brahmarandhra; an aspect of light symbolism in Gandhāran Buddha images" in *Akṣayanīvī, Essays presented to Dr. Debala Mitra* . . . , edited by Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica, 88, (New Delhi,1991): 73–93.

[41] Starza-Majewski, 1999: 17.

[42] This the general opinion of many art historians, particularly of Zwalf, London, 1996, 41.

from head to foot with finely-woven drapery.[43] The *uttarīya* with edges in high relief on the narrow loop in front would have basically covered the wooden structure on which the marble torso was mounted. The drapery over the left arm running with a thicker lower edge under the shoulder loop and a tasselled end hanging behind may have lapped over the wooden left hand. Actual gold ornaments over the white marble torso would have given a masterly dimension to the Bodhisattva image. The reason for making the torso in marble, would have been to show the naked chest covered with jewellery. Since the earlobes are broken, it is difficult to assume for certain whether they bore earrings or not. The proposed reconstruction of the Bodhisattva image (Fig. 5.10) takes into account the existing acrolithic images from the classical Greek world and the Bodhisattva images from Gandhāra.

The Greeks in Bactria on the one hand perpetuated their traditions in these distant lands, and on the other, made innovations with far-reaching consequences for Indian art, even after the decline of their political power. When East met West, new forms of art were born in Gandhāra where Buddhism provided a new market and an opening to new concepts of art. Through these interactions new syncretic arts like the marble Bodhisattva images were born. This statue is therefore an excellent combination of Buddhist iconography and the Hellenistic technique for making monumental sculptures.

[43] Jones [trans.], *Pausanias*, 1935, VIII, 23, 5–6.

Illustrations

Fig. 5.1 Marble head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.
Fig. 5.2 Side view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.
Fig. 5.3 Back view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.
Fig. 5.4 Frontal view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.
Fig. 5.5 Torso seen from the bottom: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.
Fig. 5.6 A–D. Fragments of the hand: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.
Fig. 5.7 A–C. Fragments of the bust: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.
Fig. 5.8 Head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. By courtesy of G. Ortis.
Fig. 5.9 Back of the Head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. By courtesy of G. Ortis.
Fig. 5.10 Reconstruction of the acrolithic image of Bodhisattva from Takal Bala (drawing by François Ory).

CHAPTER SIX

BARIKOT, AN INDO-GREEK URBAN CENTER IN GANDHĀRA

Pierfrancesco Callieri

Dedicated to the memory of Maurizio Taddei, leader of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan

Introduction: Why Excavate At Barikot?

When in 1982 the excavations at the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharif I came to an end, the then director of the Italian Archaeological Mission, Domenico Faccenna, agreed with the present writer that perhaps it was time to again enter the field of urban archaeology, after so many efforts spent on Buddhist art and archaeology. By chance, that autumn, Professor Giorgio Stacul, in charge of the protohistoric section of the Italian Mission, was busy excavating at Barikot, where since 1968 he had found good evidence dating to the mid-second millennium B.C. His excavations were limited to the southernmost, flat part of the land known as '*Ghwaṇḍai*', Pushtu for 'hill' (hence the name of the archaeological site of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai). Here the latest structures went back to the last period of the protohistoric sequence, c. 4th century B.C., although the area had already been levelled to some extent for the creation of good orchards. On that occasion our attention was caught by big bulldozers busy levelling some orchards at the foot of the hill, and by some exceptionally fine structures which the machines had exposed. After a rapid investigation, Dr Faccenna and I immediately decided that it was at this site, which was starting to be menaced by man, that the new activity would take place.

When in autumn 1984 the first campaign of our 'historic' team started at Barikot, the situation at the site had already worsened. The area of the 'Ghwaṇḍai', until 1982 almost free from modern houses, was being levelled for cultivation and at the same time was

becoming part of the area of expansion of the modern village.

Since then, only four campaigns (in 1987, 1990, 1991, 1992) have been possible in that area, and these were carried out amid many problems with the landowners. Apart from the scientific results, which will be the subject of this paper, a major result was achieved: the protection of the site, implemented in 1995 under the Antiquity Act. Protection on paper does not mean actual protection, but it is a necessary step, without which the local authorities have no power to stop any damage to antiquities. And indeed modern buildings seem to have stopped expanding. We do not know how long this situation will last. For the moment, two of the excavated trenches (BKG 1 and BKG 3) have been refilled; two (BKG 2 and BKG 4–5) have been left open for future conservation, once the Department of Archaeology has permanently acquired the land, still in private hands. We have for the moment stopped working in the old town, until the land problem is solved. At the same time we have tried to arouse widespread interest by launching the project 'Save Bazira', named after the old name of the town. This first long phase of exploration through isolated trenches in the different parts of the settlement, in order to establish its extension and importance, can be considered concluded. All those who took part in the excavation are busy preparing the final reports, which will include both structures and finds, given the need to check the stratigraphic study through the finds and the reciprocal need of the archaeological context for a thorough examination of the finds in their chronological evolution, site distribution and functional study.

Excavations were resumed in 1998, 1999 and 2000 on the top of the hill (Trenches BKG 6, BKG 7, BKG 8, BKG 9), where the most important discovery again takes us back to the field of sacred architecture, this time to an imposing sacred building of the Shahi period. The next campaigns will be dedicated to the completion of the excavation of this imposing monument, which has given us unique fragments of figural stucco and marble decoration. It is a necessary intervention, with the aim of carrying out proper conservation on a monument which has the potential to become a further tourist attraction at Barikot.

The main interest, however, remains the town, where several hectares are still practically intact, apart from a few scattered pits dug by treasure-hunters: a long-term excavation here could bring decisive evidence for the knowledge of the material culture of the

region. But what is absolutely necessary is the definitive protection of the site and acquisition of the land by the Government. Only when Bazira has been saved will our Mission feel free from its obligation.

A Brief Presentation of the Site

The isolated and crescent-shaped hill of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai rises in the central stretch of the Swat valley, to the West of the modern village, on the left bank of the river (Fig. 6.1). A series of fortifications surround the top of the hill. Here two terraces respectively mark the site of a dwelling settlement and of a sacred area, the latter delimited on the NE corner by an imposing buttress in stone masonry which Sir Aurel Stein described as part of the fortifications.[1] The terraced slope to the south and all the plateau enclosed within the crescent of the hill (Fig. 6.2), were in ancient times occupied by the town, as is shown by the very large quantity of outcropping potsherds on the surface of the ground and the considerable number of structures which have been exposed by pits dug by treasure hunters.

The hill and the surrounding region have been studied many times in this century. Both Sir Aurel Stein[2] and Professor Giuseppe Tucci[3] identified Barikot with the ancient city of Bazira/Beira, conquered by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. and mentioned in classical sources. Curtius Rufus (VIII, 34) spoke of Beira as an 'opulent city', and Arrianus in his *Anabasis* (IV, 27) described Bazira as having a citadel that was 'very tall and carefully fortified all around'. These characteristics seem to correspond clearly to our Barikot, whose toponym Bari-/Bīr- derives, according to Stein, directly from the ancient name of Bazira or Bajira (Bajira>Bayira>Beira>Bir). The name 'Bajira' is attested in the Hindu Śāhi period by the form Vajirasthāna found in an inscription from Barikot now in the Lahore Museum.[4]

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[1] Sir Aurel Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (London, 1929), 37; id., *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Ajacent Hill Tracts*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 42 (Calcutta, 1930), 20–23.

[2] Stein 1929, 47–48; Stein 1930, 28.

[3] Giuseppe Tucci, "A Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat," *East and West* 9 (1958): 296 and 327, endnote 28.

[4] Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Shastri, "Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum", *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931): 301.

The importance of the settlement of Barikot is its strategic location; the site dominated the routes from Upper Swat, Lower Swat and from Buner.

Excavations carried out under the direction of G. Stacul in the southern part of the plateau had revealed protohistoric levels dating back to the middle of the second millennium B.C.[5] The campaigns conducted in 1984, 1987 and 1990–1992, and then 1998, 1999 and 2000, under the direction of the present writer, confirmed the importance of the historic period site. Four trenches have been excavated in four different areas of the ancient settlement: Trench BKG 1 in the central-eastern part[6] (Fig. 6.3), Trench BKG 2 on the slope at the foot of the hill[7] (Fig. 6.4), Trench BKG 3 on the western stretch of the southern side of the fortifications[8] (Fig. 6.5) and Trench BKG 4–5 at the south-western corner of the settlement[9] (Fig. 6.6). Four trenches (BKG 6–9) have been then excavated on the citadel.[10] In addition to the rich stratigraphic sequences, which allowed the size of the stratigraphy and its chronology to be determined, some well conserved architectonic remains were identified. The latter include sections of the south side and the west side of the historical period city walls in the plain area (BKG 3 and BKG 4–5); a square plan building on a tall base with circular buttresses in the corners on the

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[5] Giorgio Stacul, "Excavation at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Swat, Pakistan)," *East and West* 28 (1978): 137–150; Giorgio Stacul, "Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Swat, Pakistan). 1978 Excavation Report," *East and West* 30 (1980): 55–65.

[6] Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Bīr-koṭ Ghwaṇḍai. Trench BKG 1," *East and West* 34.4 (1984): 484–493.

[7] Anna Filigenzi, "Bīr-koṭ Ghwaṇḍai. Trench BKG 2," *East and West* 34.4 (1984): 493–500; Anna Filigenzi, "Trench BKG 2," *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990): 183–192; Anna Filigenzi, "Trench BKG 2," in Pierfrancesco Callieri, et al., *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1990–1992. A Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO*, Supplemento n. 73 agli *Annali*-vol. 52 (1992), fasc. 4 (Napoli, 1992), 37–45.

[8] Pierfrancesco Callieri, Anna Filigenzi & Giorgio Stacul, "Excavation at Bir-kot-ghwandai, Swat: 1987," *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990): 163–192.

[9] Pierfrancesco Callieri, Paolo Brocato, Anna Filigenzi, Mauro Nascari, Luca Maria Olivieri, *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1990–1992. A Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO*, Supplemento n. 73 agli *Annali*-vol. 52 (1992), fasc. 4 (Napoli, 1992); Luca Maria Olivieri, "Excavations at Bir-kot-ghwandai (Swat): 1992 Preliminary Report," *Pakistan Archaeology* 28 (1993): 103–116.

[10] Pierfrancesco Callieri, Luca Colliva, Roberto Micheli, Abdul Nasir, Luca Maria Olivieri, "Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan. 1998–1999 Excavation Report," *East and West* 50.1–4 (2000): 191–226; Pierfrancesco Callieri, Luca Colliva, Abdul Nasir, "Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan. Preliminary Report on the Autumn 2000 Campaign of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan," *Annali*-Istituto Universitario Orientale 60–61 (2000–2001): 215–232.

terraced slopes of the hill (BKG 2); and an imposing sacred building of rectangular plan on the hilltop (BKG 6). The topographic survey of the whole hill area and of the plain, together with the study of outcropping structures, some of which are of considerable architectonic interest,[11] also formed the object of a campaign carried out in 1992 (Fig. 6.7).

Scientific Organization of the Excavations

As a preliminary observation on the methodology adopted for the excavation, we bore in mind the methodology laid down by E.C. Harris.[12] This requires, among other things, complete graphical and photographic documentation of every stratigraphic unit; such documentation offers indisputable advantages in the analytical study of the stratigraphy. Another aspect of field strategy was the choice to excavate large areas, without the limits imposed by the squares and baulks. The presence of structures immediately beneath the surface provides the limits of the *loci*, which were numbered progressively in each trench as their number increased with the deepening of the excavation.

In each of the trenches, the periodization was laid down with the help of the different superimposed structures, along with the corresponding floors. On the basis of the stratigraphic matrix, we thus obtained a sequence of comparatively reliable structural periods. The main structural changes have been taken as indicators of a new period, whereas the lesser modifications have been acknowledged as indicators of phases within the same period. Obviously, even within the same trench, a complete correlation of the many stratigraphic units in the different *loci* was not always possible. For example, wherever a high wall interrupted the stratigraphic continuity between two *loci*, it was not possible to determine a complete correlation. In these cases, as in trenches BKG 3 and BKG 4–5, the sequence of periods was attributed only to the main area, while the others remained subdivided into phases. An admittedly provisional chronological setting

[11] Luca Maria Olivieri, *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai Interim Reports. I. The Survey of the Bir-kot Hill. Archaeological Map and Photographic Documentation*, IsIAO Reports and Memoirs, Series minor VI (Rome, 2003).

[12] E.C. Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy* (London, 1979).

has been assigned to the structural periods through the pottery and the other finds, particularly coins, and the study of the different masonry techniques. Thermoluminescence and radiocarbon datings were used to a limited extent in trenches BKG 1 and BKG 2. The studies of the pottery, coins and masonry techniques are still in progress.

As regards correlations between trenches, the distance between them hinders any specific physical connection, such as sharing common stratigraphic units, particularly walls, with the exception of the fortification wall linking trenches BKG 3 and BKG 4–5. For the moment, while work is in progress in the preparation of the final reports, we shall resort to the parallel examination of the structural periods of the trenches for which we have proposed a similar dating, although it does not always overlap very precisely. Given the size of the town, we should not expect the structures to have evolved simultaneously all over the site. Correlation will be possible only at the final stage of the study of the site, when periods are defined on the basis of major changes in the artefactual evidence. For the time being, we propose the following Pre-Kuṣāṇa development on the basis of the tentative dating of the sequences in each trench:

1. Second century B.C. to beginning of first century B.C.: construction of the fortification wall: Periods I–III in trench BKG 1, Period IIA in trench BKG 3, Phases 3 and 4 and Period III in trench BKG 4–5;
2. First century B.C. to beginning of first century A.D.: Period IV in trench BKG 1, Period IIB in trench BKG 3, Phase 5 and Period IV in trench BKG 4–5;
3. Mid-first century A.D.: Period V in trench BKG 1, Period II in trench BKG 2, Period III and Phase 1a in trench BKG 3, Phase 6 and Period V in trench BKG 4–5.

While the absolute dating of the relative stratigraphic sequence is based on several sets of data, it is also true that coins play a major role in this field. It will therefore be useful to describe briefly which coins have been found and where, and give special emphasis on the nature of the archaeological context in which each coin was found.[13]

[13] D.W. MacDowall, P. Callieri, "A Catalogue of Coins from the Excavations at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1984–1992," in *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai Interim Reports. II* (IsIAO Reports and Memoirs, New Series, II) (Rome, 2004), 25–88.

For Period III in trench BKG 4–5 we have a Zoilos I coin from a layer, the surface of which is the first outer floor pertaining to the city wall; a Maurya/Śuṇga punchmarked coin from a layer, the surface of which is an outer floor level; a Menander I coin from a layer, the surface of which is a floor level; a Eucratides I copy coin from a layer filling a pit in the natural soil, dug from a late level in the period.

For Period IV in trench BKG 1 we have a Straton I coin from a layer filling a pit.

For Period IV in trench BKG 4–5 we have an unidentified Indo-Greek coin from a layer, the surface of which is a floor level; four Azes II coins, two from layers, the surface of which is an outer floor level, one from an accumulation layer covering an outer floor and one from a filling; five debased Azes II coins from layers, the surface of which is an outer floor level; a Pahlava coin from a layer, the surface of which is a floor level; an unidentified coin from a layer, the surface of which is an outer floor level.

For Period V in trench BKG 1 we have two copper coins of Azes II, one halved and found in a stratigraphic unit, the surface of which is a floor, the other, whole, from an accumulation layer.

For Period V in trench BKG 4–5 we have an Antimachos I coin from a layer filling the foundation trench of a wall; three Azes II coins, two of which from layers, the surface of which is an outer floor level, one from a layer, the surface of which is a floor level; an unidentified coin from a layer, the surface of which is an outer floor level.

An Overview of the Site during the Pre-Kuṣāṇa Period

Second Century B.C.

The fortified city rises in the site of great strategic and trading importance that controls the southern stretch of the Swat valley, as well as the road to northern Swat on one side, and to Buner and the Indus on the other. This particularly favourable topography had induced Alexander to order Bazira alone to be fortified.[14] His decision

[14] Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV, 29.

transformed the settlement into a true fortified city: an acropolis represented by the hill, which, with its half-moon shape, seems to almost embrace the plain gently sloping southward, as though to protect it. The hill is bathed on its north side by the Swat river, the plain to the south by the Kandak and Karakar torrents. The site is in the center of the Swat valley, facing the large and fertile side valleys of Kandak and Karakar, in an area that had a high potential for farming.

The Indo-Greek city, some 10 ha in area, was enclosed by a fortified perimeter running for a long stretch in an E-W direction, parallel to the hill (excavated in BKG 3, Per. IIA, and in BKG 4–5, Per. III and Ph. 3) (Fig. 6.7). At the west end of the south side, the west side encloses the plain merging with the hill, probably taking in the rocky spurs on its crest that dominate the saddle which, today and probably also at the time, the road had to cross from the west. To the east the wall perimeter is hard to identify, although the shape of the land allows a glimpse, beyond the large Muslim cemetery, of the place where the city gate must have opened; this place is at a much lower level than the previous section. It is here that the city wall comes closest to the river Kandak, almost touching the east tip of the crest that runs down from the hill. If this was the gate, the main street of the city must have run midway between the walls and the hill, at an angle to both, perhaps like the narrow street along which the first houses in the modern village were built and which reaches this area beyond the Karakar and the Kandak.

The fortification wall (Fig. 6.8), a good 2.70 m thick, consisted of a massive structure that was effective in the passive defense strategy frequently employed in Oriental Hellenism. This type of defense probably engaged only a relatively small number of armed men. The construction technique involved a core of stones, pebbles and clay lined with thick slabs and pebbles embedded in clay according to a careful pattern. The wall was built by erecting successive short sections instead of constructing the entire length of the curtain between the towers. The jutting towers or bastions, rectangular in shape except for the pentagonal one in the southwest corner (Fig. 6.9), placed at regular intervals of about 29 m apart, facilitated the defender's task. Three of these have been identified and partly excavated on the south side (Fig. 6.10), plus one on the west side, as well as the tower in the southwest corner of the walls. A steep slope running parallel to the south side of the wall, at a distance of c. 5–8 m from it and

cutting the layers of the outer area, presumably represents the northern edge of a wide moat, the opposite side of which probably lay outside the boundaries of the excavated trenches.

One particularly interesting architectonic feature is the care taken in disposing of run-off water. This is clearly shown by the drains with stone walls and a paved bottom crossing the pavements, as well as by the drain outlets through the city wall.

The same type of fortification as at Barikot, that is, a massive surrounding wall with jutting rectangular towers and a moat, is found both in the Indian sub-continent and in the Hellenized East. Among the fortifications of the Hellenized East, which have been subjected to many analytical studies, it is the most common type. In India, although it is the type illustrated in theoretical treaties on building techniques, it is only rarely found in archaeological reality.[15] Conversely, the typological, planimetric and construction characteristics of the Barikot fortifications correspond to many similar features found in the defensive structures of the Hellenized East, such as those of Aï Khanoum.[16] The fact that the Barikot fortifications display a number of differences compared to those of Greek Bactria of the same period can be due to a conservatism specific to a peripheral area, and to adapting to local conditions which, for instance, may have imposed the use of stone rather than clay brick masonry. Also of great interest is the fact that the Sirkap fortifications at Taxila are also of the same type, having rectangular towers and one pentagonal tower. The surveys by Wheeler and Ghosh confirmed the dating of these fortifications as about one century later than those of Barikot.[17] The addition of a berm joining the Taxila towers, which makes it more difficult to approach the base of the wall, seems to represent an improvement on the basic type.

The 'Hellenistic' origin of this town at the beginning of the historical period is attested precisely by the main architectonic structure unearthed so far—the city walls. Owing to the topographic,

[15] Jean Deloche, "Études sur les fortifications de l'Inde. 1. Les fortifications de l'Inde ancienne," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 79.1 (1992): 89–131.

[16] Pierre Leriche, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. V. Les remparts et les monuments associés*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XXIX (Paris, 1986), 88–98.

[17] A. Ghosh, "Taxila (Sirkap), 1944–45," *Ancient India* 4 (1947–1948): 45, 84. For a different view, see Allchin 1993, Fussman 1993; see endnotes 69 and 70 for full references.

planimetric and construction characteristics, these walls appear to be a good example of Eastern Hellenistic architecture. This is supported by the two potsherds bearing Greek letters unearthed at Barikot in recent years. The sherds consist of six letters (Fig. 6.11) and one letter (Fig. 6.12), respectively.[18] The first fragment, which I previously interpreted as evidence of the presence of the Greek language as well as the Greek alphabet, was tentatively completed by Janos Harmatta. He proposed that it is a short inscription consisting of two Graeco-Macedonian names.[19] It represents the easternmost piece of evidence known today of the Greek language, with the exception of coin inscriptions.

The dating of the fortification wall proposed at the time of the discovery, mainly on the basis of historical considerations and architectonic comparisons, has been assessed more accurately on the basis of the materials associated with its early construction phases. Indo-Greek coins and pottery shapes having interesting links with Graeco-Bactrian materials (see below) (Fig. 6.13) were discovered in the layers associated with the wall construction. These coins and pottery allow us today to date the structure to the second century B.C. As far as numismatic evidence is concerned, three out of the four coins found in the layers associated with the walls' construction are Indo-Greek, two of the kings Menander and Zoilus I, dating to between c. 155 and 120 B.C.; the third is a copy of Eucratides dating between the second and first centuries B.C., while the fourth is a silver multiple punchmarked coin dating between the Mauryas and the Śuṇgas.

No evidence of Indo-Greek defensive works have so far been found on the acropolis. However, in trenches BKG 7 and BKG 9, there are still almost imperceptible traces of a wall, perhaps of a large size, which was subsequently plundered in order to construct other structures on the hilltop.[20] And the archaeological deposit specific to this area has yielded an assemblage that at first sight seems to coincide

[18] Pierfrancesco Callieri, "A Potsherd with a Greek Inscription from Bir-kot (Swat)," *Journal of Central Asia* 7.1 (1984a): 49–53; Callieri 1984: 499, fig. 6.14.

[19] Janos Harmatta, "Languages and Scripts in Graeco-Bactria and the Saka Kingdoms," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. II. The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, ed. J. Harmatta (Paris, 1994), 408. The integration of the first line proposed by Harmatta, who apparently could not avail himself of a photograph, is not likely to be correct, because the beginning of the line seems whole and the fracture is after the second letter.

[20] Callieri et al. 2000, 194, 201–3.

with that of the Indo-Greek period in the lower city. There is the same coexistence between traditional, protohistoric forms and materials and others now belonging to a new tradition dating to a historical period. The occurrence of these two different traditions in reliable stratigraphic contexts authorizes us to rule out simple random mixing due to discharges or disturbing of the soil.

Apart from the walls we know very little about the Indo-Greek city.

In the center-east part of the city, where only trench BKG 1 has been dug, there are three structural periods that could hypothetically be related to the earliest phases of the historical city. Unfortunately only a small part has been excavated and does not allow the architecture to be fully understood.

The most ancient traces of occupation (Per. I), just over the natural soil, consist of a hearth on a possibly circular bench delimited by edgewise stones, only partially excavated. From this context the potsherd with a Greek incised letter was brought to light. The following period (Per. II) sees the first structures, which were exposed to a reduced extent. They were walls erected with rather irregular masonry and formed of slabs of schist. The first regular structures (Per. III) are represented by two well-built walls of small slabs forming a corner (of a room). The subsequent erection of other structures on top of them left a stretch that is small, but sufficient for a foundation offset to be distinguished.

We also know that as early as the first period of the city's life, good quality wall structures had been built not only in the more central area, but also in the outlying areas along the western section of the city walls (trench BKG 3), and in the southwest corner of the city (trench BKG 4–5).

In trench BKG 3, a deep trench was dug only in the northern part of the trench (*locus* BKG 301). Here the earliest recorded evidence is represented by a simple stone masonry wall which, along with the connected stratification, lies beneath the main structures. On the basis of the pottery, it can be considered coeval with the construction of the fortifications.

In trench BKG 4–5, in the period which corresponds to the building of the city wall (Per. III) (Fig. 6.14), inside the south and west sides of the wall was a large unbuilt area varying in breadth from c. 5 m (south sector) to c. 3 m (west sector). By the south side is a room with stone foundations and superstructures aligned N-S (BKG 419); only the east, south and west walls have been exposed. To the east

stands what must have been the south outer wall of a second room with the same orientation, partially demolishing a wall of Per. II.

A long wall was also brought to light parallel to the west side of the city wall, and at a distance of 3 m from it.

In the northern sector of the trench, a large building aligned approximately WSW-ENE uses structures of the previous period as foundations. It consists of a large room to the west with a pillar on a cylindrical stone foundation (BKG 453–454) and two contiguous rooms to the east separated by a dividing wall, one to the north (BKG 441), the other to the south (BKG 443).

A phase subsequent to that of the construction, in the outer part of the city, involves a series of accumulating layers sloping from the city wall to south, with a greater thickness at the base of the wall (Ph. 4 in BKG 4–5).

It should be noted that during this period the sloping area at the foot of the hill still had not been occupied.

As mentioned above, the pottery created at the same time as the erection of the fortification represents a new craft tradition. The grey and black ware that represented one of the most widespread classes in the region during the protohistoric period was surpassed and then replaced by a new red ware, frequently slipped, in a wide range of fabrics associated with various vase shapes and sizes. Side by side with characteristics of the pottery from the Ganges Plain, featuring large bowls with concave bottom and carinated sides (*thālī*) and pear-shaped jars, several new types appear, including dishes with oblique rectangular walls and everted triangular rims (similar to the Graeco-Bactrian dishes known as '*plats à poisson*'), small bowls with concave walls and everted triangular rim and necked jars with everted rims of different types. These new elements have many features in common with the pottery of the Greek cities of Bactria (Fig. 6.13) and suggest that, contrary to what has so far been believed, 'Hellenistic' elements had begun penetrating the Swat culture as early as the Indo-Greek period.

Considerable importance surrounds the find of an unfortunately tiny potsherd of a light yellow fabric covered with a hard glossy black paint. The fragment has not yet been analyzed for fear of destroying this important evidence before precise goals have been set for the analysis. It must be established whether it is a particular variety of NBPW or else of Black Painted Hellenistic ware; the criteria suggested by Wheeler for distinguishing between NBPW and

Black Painted ware[21] would seem to indicate that the second option is preferable, although before claiming that it is Black Painted ware it is necessary to acquire more objective evidence. We are thus seeking a reference framework of analyses carried out on materials from other locations in the Mediterranean and in India in order to perform a trace element analysis that might provide a precise answer to the question of the origin.

The decorative repertoire of the pottery from this period is particularly interesting.[22] Decorative techniques include painted and incised decoration as well as embossed motifs. Black-on-red painted decoration is limited to hatched or cross-hatched triangles with stylized flowers or rosettes between them painted on the flat everted horizontal rim of a typical form of hemispherical bowls; triangles filled with parallel wavy lines (Fig. 6.15) and cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 6.16) are also painted on walls of other vessels. The incised decoration, on the other hand, characterizes the grey/black ware of the protohistoric tradition; it shows geometric patterns such as triangles, parallel zig-zags, etc. (Fig. 6.17). As to the embossed ware, in the Indo-Greek period Hellenistic motifs are still absent, whereas the images of animals or human figures embossed in several superimposed registers running all around the vessels of the Early-Historic red ware, with a thick slip, seem to be inspired by the Mauryan and Śuṇga traditions (Fig. 6.18).

Among the terracotta figurines, a category of materials of great chronological interest, the only types of female figurines found belong to the local protohistoric tradition. Despite the paucity of the evidence, there seems to be a prevalence of figurines typologically similar to the one defined by Wheeler as 'Baroque Ladies' because of the elements applied to the body and above all the head which gave them their redundant appearance.[23] At Barikot no whole figurine has ever been found, nor fragments with heads displaying these applied elements. However, many of the fragments conserved are characterized by a treatment of the naked body involving broad fleshy hips, on which a girdle often appears rendered by a horizontal incised

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[21] R.E.M. Wheeler, *Charsada. A Metropolis of the North-Western Frontier* (Oxford, 1962), 41.

[22] Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Decorated Pottery from the IsIAO Excavations at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Swat, Pakistan, 2nd cent. B.C.–15th cent. A.D.)," in *South Asian Archaeology 1997*, ed. M. Taddei, G. De Marco (Rome, 2000): 859, 869, 871.

[23] Wheeler 1962, 104.

line, sometimes bearing small disks. The sex is indicated by means of incised marks in the pubic region.[24] The best preserved figurine (Fig. 6.19)[25] also displays applied breasts and a tall applied necklace with parallel grooves. The figurine's ornaments are similar to the ornaments of the 'Baroque Ladies' of Charsada. Of particular interest is the finding of several fragments consisting in the longitudinal half of the body of a figurine comprising one flank and one leg (Fig. 6.20). In them the part corresponding to the trunk displays signs of a fracture, while the leg is intact: clearly the two legs were modelled separately and then stuck on with slip. However, Wheeler, who also found numerous 'half-figurines' at Charsada, claims that they are actually not fragmentary, but figurines that have been shaped only on one side in order to be viewed in profile.[26] A radiological examination is planned for these figurines in order to establish the true situation. It should be added that several of the figurines display traces of white colour.

Another type of traditional local female figurine is the 'fiddle-shaped' one,[27] in which a flattened body displays broad round flanks, narrow waist and a trunk that is enlarged into a hint of short arms; the front and back surfaces of the figurine sometimes bear incised ornaments, frequently in the form of a band crossed over the breast (*channavīra*) rendered by means of straight incisions or rows of dots (Fig. 6.21).[28] This type has a longstanding tradition in Swat dating back to the mid-second millennium B.C.[29]

Predominant among the animal figurines, also of local tradition, are the images of zebu (Fig. 6.22)[30] and elephant (Fig. 6.23).[31] They are handshaped, with several elements (eyes, tail, tusks) applied or rendered by means of linear or disk incisions.

As far as the other types of materials are concerned, of which iron, bronze, bone, terracotta and vitreous paste artefacts have been found, no whole or well preserved specimens have been discovered on which a historico-artistic analysis could be based. One of the

[24] Inv. nos. BKG 1476, BKG 1477, BKG 1571.
[25] Inv. no. BKG 800.
[26] Wheeler 1962, 108–109.
[27] Wheeler 1962, 109, pl. XXIII, 13.
[28] Inv. no. BKG 1494.
[29] Stacul 1978, fig. 6.37.
[30] Inv. nos. BKG 1324, BKG 1339.
[31] Inv. no. BKG 799.

so-called bronze 'antimony-rods'[32] is interesting in that it is the forerunner of a long series of similar artefacts, perhaps having an ear-cleaning function.[33] Of particular interest is a fragment of the side of a small dark glass vase,[34] which demonstrates that glass was used not only in the form of paste for necklace or bracelet beads, but also for containers.

First Century B.C.

The following stage in the various trenches excavated corresponds to the periods dated to the first century B.C., a time that saw the first temporary and then definitive political rise of the Śakas in the Northwest.

During this period the town of Barikot underwent further expansion. The walls still retained their defensive function, with periodic restoration work proving the interest taken in this construction.

Some time after the completion of the city walls, for which no detailed chronological indicator exists, an extremely destructive event occurred, probably an earthquake, which severely damaged the structures, particularly the towers. Large cracks are visible on the side of the western tower, on the corner tower and on the two towers discovered on the southern side. Although unfortunately we have no comparative data for this event in other sites in the region,[35] the episode is of considerable help towards finding a relationship among the various trenches. The reconstruction of the towers (Per. IIB in BKG 3, Ph. 5 in BKG 4–5) reveals the various systems used to reinforce them, above all the foundations of the towers, which were rather weak in the first version. The walls of the towers were actually built on the ground without a foundation trench or with only a small trench on one side of the wall. The corner tower, although

[32] Inv. no. BKG 1611.

[33] Sir John Marshall, *Taxila* (Cambridge, 1951), vol. II, 585–586.

[34] Inv. no. BKG 1713.

[35] Any connection with the severe earthquake postulated by Marshall as the main cause of the adoption of the new building technique characterizing Sirkap's Stratum II is unlikely, given the time gap. Whereas the event at Sirkap should have taken place in the latter part of the Indo-Parthians' domination (see George Erdosy, "Taxila: Political History and Urban Structure," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, ed. M. Taddei, Rome, 1990, 669), the reconstruction of the towers of the Barikot fortifications marks the beginning of a period spanning from the first century B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.D.

retaining the pentagonal shape of the preceding phase, now has divergent (and no longer parallel) sides, and is supported on a large, solid substructure of pebbles and small slabs (Fig. 6.9). One of the towers on the south side displays deep foundations of gradually jutting stepped masonry (Fig. 6.26), while another is surrounded by a reinforcing scarp wall. Besides, a stairway is built against the inside of the corner between the south and west side of the city wall, providing access to the top of the corner bastion (Fig. 6.25). It is crossed by a hollow shaft with an ogival pseudo-vault serving to convey water to the drain built in the previous period in this stretch of the south side of the city wall.

The other wall structures of this period are built using schist slabs of varying length and thickness laid in a regular pattern with accurate joints in the corners and above all with deep schist slab foundations. The floors are beaten earth, occasionally crossed by drains with masonry side walls and paved bottoms and covered by other schist slabs.

In trench BKG 1 this structural period (Per. IV) (Fig. 6.24) was brought to light to a greater extent with the excavation of a considerable part of three adjacent rooms. The walls are wellbuilt with slabs of different thickness in a regular texture and show deep foundations and precise joints at the corners. In some stretches the covering of mud with which they were plastered remains. Several closely overlying earthen floors were distinguished. The floor of one of the rooms was crossed by a well-built drain running towards the east. This was lined with well-joined slabs at the bottom and built-up walls inside the filling of the foundations and covered over with slabs.

In trench BKG 4–5, the building activity seems to have been very lively all over the area of the trench (Fig. 6.25).

The southern sector presents the construction of a building consisting of a quadrangular room (BKG 498) resting against the inner side of the city wall (used as its south wall) and occupying an area not built in Per. III. A second room with the same plan (BKG 449) was erected to the north of the first.

A room (BKG 452) was built in the central area, of which the trench-built stone foundations of the east, west and north walls remain. The lost superstructures were probably of mud brick. In the center of the room was a clay cooking oven, quadrangular in plan, with the opening on one side. A second oven of analogous shape, size and position was built over the first in a later phase of the same period.

In the north sector, the temporary abandonment of the rooms of the previous period was followed by the building of new structures, in part utilizing earlier walls. Thus we have two small-sized rooms (BKG 453 and BKG 454) erected to the west of a larger room (BKG 441–444), which must have been used for craft activities, probably connected with clay. Evidence of this is provided by the presence of numerous circular small pits, one of which yielded a stone pin for a potter's wheel while the others contained small compact lumps of pottery fragments.

A series of structures were also erected in the western sector, up against the city wall. In contrast with those of the southern sector, these are built directly upon Per. III structures and follow the same alignment. The wall of Per. III, parallel to the city wall, is surmounted by the superstructure of Per. IV, forming the west wall of a two-room building (BKG 535 to north, BKG 536 to south). Just south of this wall, in line with the previous construction but set back a little from the city wall, was exposed the west wall of a third room (BKG 537), originally containing a doorway but subsequently walled-in and now conserved to the level of the lintel (ht. 1.70 m). While Per. IV structures abut the city wall in the southern sector, in this western sector, the area between the built-up center and the city wall (BKG 519) remained free of buildings and continued to be used as a passageway and for drainage.

During this period the traditional protohistoric pottery forms gradually disappeared, while the production of good quality red-slipped ware increased. The latter is indicative of a highly standardized and technologically advanced production. The repertoire of shapes is expanded, taking in all kinds of vessels without any particular preferences, ranging from closed to open types, large ones to contain food and water and small ones for use at table. Grey-black ware, which was still present in the previous period, in protohistoric forms, now clearly becomes a pottery produced in extremely small quantities to imitate metal vases, almost always slipped and also burnished.

The repertoire of pottery decoration is of considerable interest, with some of the earlier forms being retained but also new ones introduced.[36] In the painted ware, the black-on-red painted triangle

[36] Callieri 2000, 859, 866, 870, 871.

pattern of the preceding century survives, along with the introduction of new but simpler patterns such as bands of parallel lines and a wavy line between bands of parallel lines. Stamped decoration, on the other hand, is a new technique. Around the base of the neck of water jars we find series of two or three concentric circles associated with short triangular incisions or palmettes. Rows of palmettes or circular stamps decorate the shoulders of jars or the outer face of rims. The Hellenistic origin of stamped decoration, the first examples of which are at Aï Khanoum, has been pointed out.[37] A particular class of stamped ware is represented by the so-called lotus bowls,[38] having an open lotus impression on the interior base. At Barikot this class is evidenced first in the first century B.C., whereas at Shaikhan Dheri it is recorded in the second century B.C. At Barikot, naturalistic stamps (Fig. 6.27) appear side by side with stylized ones (Fig. 6.28), probably depending on the intrinsic value of the pot. Also of Hellenistic origin is a new class of embossed ware, which has the decoration confined to the central part of the inner bottom of bowls or dishes: the prevailing decorative pattern is a very naturalistic vine scroll, employed either as an isolated motif or as a border of a central *èmblema*. The fact that one of the embossed sherds is in black ware (Fig. 6.29) confirms its luxurious quality, since during this period black ware itself is a high quality class, which imitates metal vessels. Moulded ware, a probable local descent from Megarensian bowls, is represented as well, even though very rare: decorative patterns are both floral and geometric. Finally, the use of incised grooves or wavy lines as well as the application of plain or incised ribs along the circumference of the vessel below the rim or on the body is frequent.

The greatest innovations, under the influence of a Hellenistic presence, lasting nearly one century, occurred in terracotta modelling. While the preceding period was characterized only by figurines of the local type, particularly as far as female figurines are concerned, the introduction of new types and styles now took place.

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[37] Jean-Claude Gardin, "Les céramiques," in *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, I, (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XXI (Paris, 1973), 121–188; id., "Die Ursprünge der Kuṣāṇa-Keramik," in *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches. Festschrift für Klaus Fischer*, eds. J. Ozols & V. Thewalt (Köln, 1984), 110–126.

[38] Wheeler 1962: 40–41; Fidaullah, "The Pottery," in A.H. Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation," *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1965–1966): 201.

We still find Baroque Ladies and fiddle-shaped figurines;[39] at the same time, however, material of clear Hellenistic style begins to appear with different techniques being used for the various types. On the one hand, a head (Fig. 6.30)[40] perhaps modelled using a double mould, with applied elements, indicates the presence of actual naturalistic full-relief statuettes, for which the closest examples in Asia are those of the Hellenized Eastern terracottas.[41] On the other hand, this period sees the production of single mould figurines (Fig. 6.31),[42] which is also of Hellenistic origin,[43] and which will become the most common type for the whole Kuṣāṇa period. These figurines feature a moulded front and a flattened back that shows traces of the tool used to remove the excess clay. The body of a female figure, either naked or covered by thin veil that reveals the shape of the body, stands with legs together and arms outstretched, or sometimes with the forearm folded on the lap. The head, which is never found attached to the body owing to the intrinsic weakness of the neck, displays barely outlined physiognomic traits and is often crowned with a tall tiara (Fig. 6.32). In some cases the head receives applied elements such a garland with a central disk (Fig. 6.33). Figurines of this types were recovered at Sirkap in Strata III and II[44] as well as in the layers of the 'Scytho-Parthian' period at Shaikhan Dheri.[45]

The presence of Hellenistic forms in the production of female figurines is of particular importance. These images probably had some religious function, as Joachim Bautze demonstrated for similar Maurya period images.[46] Anything having to do with worship generally tends to retain the traditional forms. Therefore, if at the end of the Greek domination at Barikot we can observe the retention of Hellenistic forms, we may conclude that the Hellenistic figurative iconography had been radically reinforced at all levels in the region, and that traditional terracotta production had ultimately been incorporated by the new mode.

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[39] Inv. nos. BKG 798, BKG 812, BKG 1294, BKG 1340, BKG 1533.

[40] Inv. no. BKG 818.

[41] Wilhelmina van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor-London 1939), 235, no. 911, pl. LVIII; 252–253, no. 1018, pl. LXI.

[42] Inv. nos. BKG 793, BKG 1381, BKG 1684, BKG 1698, BKG 1699, BKG 1711.

[43] Van Ingen 1939, 9, 61–65.

[44] Marshall 1951, 443, nos. 6–7, pl. 132; 451, nos. 46–47, pl. 133.

[45] Dani 1965–66, 62–64, pl. XXX; 60, pl. XXVIII.7; 70, pl. XXXIII.4, 6.

[46] Joachim Bautze, "Some Observations on Female 'Maurya' Terracotta Figurines," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, ed. Maurizio Taddei (Rome, 1990), 611–626.

Also in the animal figurines, whose function is uncertain, the Hellenistic style is comparatively conspicuous; the shape of the body and the musculature of the animals become more plastic and less static. The animals depicted are, in addition to the zebu,[47] also the horse[48] and another quadruped, perhaps a dog.[49]

As far as the other classes of materials are concerned, it must straightaway be pointed out that finds of trays or caskets made of stone turned on lathe begin in this period: no fragments of figured toilet trays, but several fragments with different kinds of moulding are found.[50]

Metal production, in addition to numerous iron artefacts, include the better conserved bronze objects such as a pendant[51] and a bead, perhaps fragment of a bracelet;[52] the latter is particularly important as it had been gilded by applying a thin sheet of gold leaf.

The bone artefacts found include an object similar to the ones Marshall described as '*styli*'[53] but which are more likely loom spindles similar to many others found in protohistoric layers;[54] they thus seem to provide indirect confirmation of the function of spindle-whorl played by the larger terracotta beads.

Early First Century A.D.

As far as the fortification wall is concerned, in this period we find evidence of several episodes of repairs and modifications made necessary above all by the rise in the floor levels.

During this period, repair was apparently carried out in the area of the trench at the southwest corner of the town (BKG 4–5). Construction of a new drain outlet about 1.10 m above the earlier drain was made necessary by the rise in the floor level inside the walls. This channel was eliminated in subsequent rebuildings, but a slab jutting out from the south side of the wall exactly where the channel met it must certainly have belonged to the drain (Ph. 6). Traces of repair are also present along the west side of the walls.

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47 Inv. nos. BKG 1402, BKG 1403.
48 Inv. no. BKG 1401.
49 Inv. no. BKG 796.
50 E.g. Inv. nos. BKG 850, BKG 1592.
51 Inv. no. BKG 1705.
52 Inv. no. BKG 1707.
53 Marshall 1951, 660–661.
54 Inv. no. BKG 1613.

Along the south side (BKG 3), the same growth in the levels was observed. Following a remarkable tilting of the part of the tower still emerging from the surface in this area, some masonry structures were built to the south of the fortifications (Per. III). Leaning against the bastion, a wall (th. 0.75) runs southwards, in line with the west face of the tower, probably limiting a room adjacent to it, which is built with a deep but irregular masonry foundation in a narrow construction trench. Parallel to this wall and to the fortification wall, a second, similar structure, of which only the northwestern part is preserved, is built with a much shallower foundation, which is deeper and wider to the south. Of these structures only the short stretch to the north is preserved, since a major landslide swept away most, as well as a good part of the earlier layers, both inside and outside the structure. It is therefore difficult to understand their function; the fact that the floor level of the structures is quite high seems to rule out the possibility that they were part of a second advanced defense line (similar to the *proteichismata* in more sophisticated Hellenistic fortifications).

While in trench BKG 4–5 in the southwest corner of the city all the structures are of good quality but of medium size and thickness, in trench BKG 1, in the east zone of the city, two massive thick parallel walls have been discovered. Unfortunately they cover only a short section, running E-W and bounding a room 2.5 m wide that is closed to the east by a similar third wall (Figs. 6.34, 6.36). This structure, although difficult to interpret, has the appearance of being a work of particular architectonic and town-planning importance. This structure may well have corresponded to the architectural complex constructed approximately in the same period in trench BKG 3, and practically abutting the fortifications. Also in trench BKG 1 there are several significant structures in which a particular technique, involving small thin schist slabs, was used to form an accurate regular pattern.

In trench BKG 1 (Fig. 6.34), the abandoned structures of the preceding Per. IV were partly destroyed due to the digging of the construction trenches for the structures of this period, and they were partly used as a base for the new structures. In the first phase, two parallel massive walls, 1.20 m thick, running with an E-W alignment and constructed with a nucleus of rubble and a 'diaper' stone facing are found; these walls bound a room 2.50 m wide, closed to the east end by a similar wall perpendicular to the other two. The first

two walls are preserved to a considerable height, together with a long sequence of superimposed earthen floors. Their considerable dimensions indicate their importance in the city, but the function of the room is still uncertain. A wide built-up drain running towards the east was built along the southernmost part of the walls, in an area that, in this first phase, seems to have been an open space devoid of other structures. In a second phase, as yet not correlated with the internal stratigraphy, new structures were built against the south wall. Among these, there is a room with a doorway opening onto the western side, and characterized by masonry using small slabs laid in a regular and precise texture.

On the central western section of the south side of the city walls (trench BKG 3), which also has undergone a long series of restoration work and alterations, some structures have been excavated that, owing to the excellent quality of the masonry and above all the size of the rooms, seem to belong to a palace (Fig. 6.37). There are two main construction stages, the first of which seems to begin around the mid-first century A.D.

In trench BKG 3, in the area adjacent to the fortification wall to the northwest (BKG 314), the structures of this single planned, large architectural complex, which had a long life, were built. The complex probably dates partly within Per. III of the fortification wall, and it was built on the interface of a soil accumulation characterized by dark brown earth and pebbles, which corresponds to late Per. IIB of the sequence of the external area. These structures represent the first phase of the complex, which we may call Ph. 1a. This phase has been brought to light in the southeast corner of room BKG 301, just below the later structures, in the three southernmost rooms BKG 311, BKG 312 and BKG 314, and partially in BKG 302. The walls were built using a very careful technique, in which regular use is made of large schist slabs in a texture of small slabs. In BKG 302 the mud plaster covering the wall was preserved. The walls have deep foundations, characterized by one or more offsets, joined at the corners by leaning one against the other. The construction trenches in BKG 301 are wide and deep, while in BKG 314 the foundation is located in a shallow trench reaching a compact clay layer. Above the offsets, the foundations were earthed up to the floor level. The side walls of the rooms rest on these foundations with no break. Several superimposed floor levels cover the original one. In BKG 311, the foundations include two drain mouths

on the western and eastern walls. In this Ph. 1a we may trace the plan of rooms BKG 301 (southeast corner), the southwest part of BKG 302 and the elongated room BKG 311, running almost parallel to the fortification wall, connected by doors to BKG 302 and to the area to the east (BKG 312 and the space north of it), which at the time represented an open space. The narrow corridor between BKG 311 and the fortification wall (BKG 314) also represented an open space.

In addition, in this period, in trench BKG 4–5, in the southwest corner of the town, the houses extend right up to the fortified perimeter, leaving only a narrow corridor along the walls which was reinstated by demolishing part of a structure from the preceding period that was blocking it.

In Per. V (Fig. 6.35) the episode of greatest importance is the demolition of the south part of room BKG 498, abutting the south side of the city wall, and the reduction of its area in order to create an open space between the new room (BKG 412) and the city wall, used as a passageway. A small paved area to the west of the room served also to cover a small drain cutting the city wall and discharging outside by a drainage slab. Room BKG 419 continued to be used. The space between BKG 412 and BKG 419 was divided by a N-S wall with a doorway that had steps to the east to compensate for the difference in level on the east and west sides of the structure. The stairway leading to the top of the tower must have been restored in this period.

In the central area, occupied formerly by room BKG 452, a new room BKG 433 was later built on a square plan with its doorway to north. The east and south walls display the openings of two drains associated with two successive floors. A characteristic feature is the presence on some of the room's successive floors of traces of white talc-based plaster, probably from the walls. To the west of this room is another room (BKG 435) of which it was possible to uncover only the southern stretch. Its original floor displays a course of slabs running along the west wall. The south wall displays two doorways communicating with two rooms (BKG 427 A, I and II). Only the dividing wall has been identified, aligned N-S, with the upper part in mud brick, the west face bearing traces of white talc-based plaster similar to that found in BKG 433. In the west part of the central sector, a series of contiguous rectangular rooms were erected in the vicinity of the west side of the city wall. Only the west portion of

these has been unearthed. It was in this period, with the construction of rooms BKG 516 and BKG 539, that the doorway in the Per. IV room BKG 537 was walled in and an open space (BKG 517) created before it. A drainage hole connects one of the rooms to the open space and a number of slabs were laid on edge against the walled-in doorway of BKG 537. This was done to facilitate the flow of water. Since the water from this drain flowed along a new drain cutting through the city wall itself, we may assign the restoration work on the west side of the city wall to this period.

An outer area containing a quadrangular well (BKG 514) was created to the rear of this series of rooms. In the eastern part of the central sector, room BKG 433 was abandoned and gradually filled up with earth.

In the north sector, the clay-working room BKG 441–444 was divided into two smaller rooms, BKG 441 and BKG 444, by a N-S dividing wall. A semicircular pit with a paved bottom, probably used for discharging purposes, was constructed in BKG 444 on the upper negative interface of the eastern stretch of the wall.

Inside the fortified perimeter, dwellings in the sloping area at the foot of the hill are indicative of the expansion of the urban area. The earliest structures excavated here (BKG 2), built on natural soil, actually display the same masonry technique involving the use of small slabs as described above.

In trench BKG 2 we see the erection of a complex of fairly well-built structures using slabs of small size and laid out at right angles. This technique is the same used in Per. V of trench BKG 1. In addition to some walls, preserved only for a short stretch, we can distinguish two adjoining rooms, delimited to the north by a single wall running from east to west and by walls perpendicular to it. The room to the west presents the opening of a doorway with the jambs projecting inwards. Up against the northern wall we found a small, rectangular storage pit about 0.50 m deep, with built-up sides, according to a practice originating in the protohistoric period.

Shapes representing the earlier pottery tradition disappear, along with a further decrease in percentage of the grey/black ware. The technical standard and the variety of shapes remain at the high level of the preceding period. Also the decoration techniques and patterns of this period show a strong continuity with the preceding period.[55]

[55] Callieri 2000, 861, 866, 870–871, 873.

In the painted decoration, a new motif appears for small carinated bowls and larger dishes; it is characterized by a pattern of three to five parallel strokes perpendicular to the edge of the rim and bands of parallel, concentric lines along the carination of the dishes and on their bottom. The geometric, incised and appliqué decoration continues along with stamped decoration, including the lotus bowls. Moulded ware also continues. At the end of this period (or at the beginning of the following one), an embossed emblem was found in the inner base of a red ware bowl or cup (Fig. 6.38), depicting in pure Hellenistic style a female bust with slightly bent head turned three-quarters to the right.[56]

In the field of terracotta modelling, apart from one stray handmade figurine,[57] only single moulded figurines are represented.[58] One particularly interesting object is a small head depicting a grotesque image (Fig. 6.39)[59] recalling the representations of Hellenistic theatrical masks similar to those, for example, found on the Oxus fountain of Aï Khanoum.[60] It consists of a hollow-backed moulded red terracotta figure; the base shows signs of attachment to a plaque (?) of an unidentifiable shape. The figure has a tall bun on its head, and its hair, represented by parallel lines, clearly frames the rather square face with protruding eyebrows, large open eyes, short wide nose with flaring nostrils, large open mouth and prominent pointed chin; could this be an Indian figure?

Among the rare animal figurines, the head of an animal with horns and crest or mane[61] is noteworthy.

Turned stone vase production is more extensively documented.[62] Noteworthy is a small but significant fragment of the rim of a bottle of marmorized green glass, probably of Syro-Roman making, which proves that the settlement was on a trade route having links with the west (Fig. 6.40).[63]

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[56] Inv. no. BKG 1516.

[57] Inv. no. BKG 1691.

[58] Inv. nos. BKG 738, BKG 747, BKG 773, BKG 774, BKG 798, BKG 1215, BKG 1302, BKG 1319, BKG 1322, BKG 1329, BKG 1330, BKG 1682, BKG 1683, BKG 1685, BKG 1686, BKG 1687, BKG 1692.

[59] Inv. no. BKG 740.

[60] Leriche 1986, 32–33.

[61] Inv. no. BKG 876.

[62] Inv. nos. BKG 764, BKG 769, BKG 792, BKG 904, BKG 907.

[63] Inv. no. BKG 766.

There are two interesting clay sealings, one with a seal impression bearing paired clubs (Fig. 6.41),[64] the other perhaps a *nandipāda* with a Brāhmī (?) inscription punched on it (Fig. 6.42).[65] The presence of Brāhmī together with Kharoṣṭhī is found also among pottery inscriptions, where in addition to two Kharoṣṭhī fragments[66] we also find a Brāhmī one.[67]

The Material Culture of the Indo-Greek Period

The picture that emerges from the Barikot archaeological evidence, although not as extensive as larger-scale excavations would have allowed, is nevertheless fundamental, because it demonstrates an Indo-Greek presence in the Swat valley and the development in this area of craft production of Hellenistic inspiration. The evidence of large-scale architectonic works such as the city walls so far represents the only monumental testimony of the Indo-Greek period, a period that in the excavation of the other principal cities of the Northwest of the Indian subcontinent is represented to a limited extent, if at all. The evidence from Barikot is supported by the picture provided by the pottery, in which there is evidence of links with Greek Bactria.[68]

However, the Barikot evidence must be worked into the broader context of the artefacts of Hellenistic inspiration datable to the Indo-Greek period. Mainly, the coins and toilet trays, but also the seals, as well as the Hellenistic architectonic elements, mouldings of the bases and capitals present in the region fall into this category. One fact emerges clearly: the undeniable presence of workshops and craftsmen of Hellenistic tradition active in the Northwest, the only ones who would have been capable of producing materials following such a consistent stylistic approach.

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[64] Inv. no. BKG 739.

[65] Inv. no. BKG 772.

[66] Inv. nos. BKG 834, BKG 835.

[67] Inv. no. BKG 1520.

[68] Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Excavations of the IsMEO Italian Archaeological Mission at the Historic Settlement of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan: 1990–91 Campaign," in *South Asian Archaeology 1991*, eds. A.J. Gail, G.J.R. Mevissen (Stuttgart, 1993), 344–345.

Despite the difficulties involved in locating the Taxila of the Indo-Greek period—due to those who still accept Marshall's dating of Sirkap to the 2nd century B.C.,[69] while others keep to the archaeological evidence brought forward by Wheeler and Ghosh[70]—the evidence from this site is of great importance for its richness. I have already had the occasion[71] to emphasize the strong affinity that exists between several precious artefacts found at Sirkap in the Śaka and Parthian period levels and similar artefacts found at Aï Khanoum, for which we have a *terminus ante quem* of 145 B.C. This affinity is so strong as to make it highly likely that also the Taxila materials, although found in a later context, may be chronologically close to the Aï Khanoum materials, or in any case produced by craftsmen of the same tradition.

Taxila is linked to Aï Khanoum not only by luxury goods. The stone bases and capitals of the temple of Jandial were worked with such a formal coherence that it is certain they were produced in workshops of the Hellenistic tradition: in other words, it is not an 'Indian' production imitating a foreign model, but an actual Hellenistic production. While the layout of the Attic bases in the temple is by no means clear, in part because of the inadequate documentation produced by the excavation of the monument, and published by Marshall after heavy restoration work had been carried out (we have some knowledge only from photos of the Taxila archives in which the front part of the recently excavated temple seems to have an elevation that is much less well preserved than at present), it is very unlikely that bases of this size, like the Ionic capitals, could be transported over large distances. Even the stone from which they have been carved is evidence of a more local origin.[72] Furthermore, Jandial

[69] F. Raymond Allchin, "The Urban Position of Taxila and Its Place in Northwest India-Pakistan," in *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*, eds. H. Spodek & D.M. Srinivasan (Hanover-London, 1993), 69–81; Saifur Rahman Dar, "Dating the Monuments of Taxila," *ibid.*, 108–109.

[70] Ghosh 1944–45, 45, 84; Gérard Fussman, "Taxila: The Central Asian Connection," in *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*, eds. H. Spodek & D.M. Srinivasan (Hanover-London, 1993), 91.

[71] Pierfrancesco Callieri, "The North-West of the Indian Subcontinent in the Indo-Greek Period. The Archaeological Evidence," in *In the Land of the Gryphons*, Monografie di Mesopotamia 5, ed. A. Invernizzi (Firenze, 1995), 298, figs. 6.3–17.

[72] Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, Revised Edition with Coloured Plates (Lahore, 1998), 71.

is not the only building with Attic bases in the Northwest. One whole column and two bases from the temple of Mohra Maliaran in the Taxila area (conserved in the Museum of Lahore) are well known;[73] less well known is the existence of a temple with Ionic capitals in the fort of Chakdara, in Swat, for which information I must thank Domenico Faccenna.[74] And Chakdara is easily visible to the naked eye from the top of Bīr-koṭ hill!

Then there is another consideration of a historical nature that perhaps has never been given sufficient emphasis. Eastern Bactria was conquered by the nomads in about 145 B.C., the western part ten years later. Whatever the reasons—internal strife or the arrival of the nomads—at Aï Khanoum everything suggests that the Greeks abandoned the city.[75] In such a historical context, it is reasonable to assume that the craftsmen working in the city did not meekly wait for the arrival of the conquerors but followed the Greeks in their withdrawal, first in the direction of western Bactria and then perhaps towards the Northwest that had been conquered by the Greeks themselves less than fifty years earlier. The case of the specialized craftsman, migrating at the time in which his regular client loses power and moving towards a place offering new work prospects, is a well documented phenomenon. There is the example of the dispersal of the gem cutters of Alexandria at the time of the Roman conquest.[76] Moreover, in our case, proximity to the Northwest would have made it much easier to flee. And perhaps it is no coincidence that the production of coins in Bactria, after the nomads' conquest, underwent a visible decline in the technical level of the coinage. Moreover, in an area much more remote than ours, Sir Mortimer Wheeler postulated without too much criticism that Mauryan sculpture had its technical basis in the Achaemenid craftsmen who were scattered by the Macedonian conquest.[77]

One aspect on which I should like to dwell, because it was neglected for so long, is that of direct transmission of shapes, models and styles. If the evidence pertaining to craft industry, despite its fragmentary

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[73] Marshall 1951, 9–10; Dar 1998, 84–90, pl. X.

[74] Alfred Foucher, *Sur la frontière indo-afghane* (Paris, 1901), 110–111.

[75] Leriche 1986, 83–84.

[76] Antonio Giuliano, "La glittica antica e le gemme di Lorenzo il Magnifico," in *Il Tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Le Gemme. Catalogo della Mostra, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Firenze 1972* (Firenze, 1973), 21.

[77] Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Flames over Persepolis* (London, 1968).

nature, is not examined from all points of view, then that evidence could be used subjectively. In point of fact, any form of figurative expression, in whatever medium, from the humblest terracotta figurine to the most elaborate bronze statue, is the result of the craftsman's technical skill acquired after a long apprenticeship in a workshop under the guidance of a master craftsman. If the direct transmission of this technical knowledge is interrupted, it becomes extremely difficult to recreate the previous skills exclusively on the basis of models, sketches, drawings and so on.

How could the authors of the refined sculptures from Gandhāra achieve similar results without the support of a direct tradition the mainstay of which was the naturalism typical of Hellenistic art? Even the schools closest to Central Indian art, such as the 'drawing' group of Butkara I, owe much to Hellenism. These are not 'influences'. One must not speak of influences. It is the very composite cultural basis of the region that is nourished by Hellenism, albeit on Indian soil. In Gandhāra there can be no Hellenistic 'influences' because, as the late Maurizio Taddei pointed out, Gandhāra itself is a province of eastern Hellenism.[78] The rediscovery of the importance of the Indo-Greek period as a stage in the transmission of the direct tradition in this region of the Indian subcontinent provides the key to our understanding of the mechanism leading to the astonishing flourishing of Gandhāra art, in which the period of the Śakas and the Parthians corresponds to the moment, despite the changes in the ruling class, in which the result of the long Greek presence is definitively established. In this context, therefore, the excavations at Barikot represent an extremely important contribution. They show that, as for the Bactrian Greeks, as also for the Indo-Greeks, it is no longer possible to speak of a 'mirage'.

[78] Maurizio Taddei, *Arte narrativa tra India e mondo ellenistico*, Conferenze IsMEO 5 (Roma, 1993).

Illustrations

Fig. 6.1 Barikot, general view from E (Neg. IsIAO 15571/21).
Fig. 6.2 Barikot, general view from W (Neg. IsIAO 14674/12).
Fig. 6.3 Trench BKG 1 (Neg. IsIAO 15570/16).
Fig. 6.4 Trench BKG 2 (Neg. IsIAO 16479/19a).
Fig. 6.5 Trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16512/33A).
Fig. 6.6 Trench BKG 4–5 (Neg. IsIAO 17700/24, 25).
Fig. 6.7 Barikot, general plan, with the indications of the trenches excavated by us (BKG 1 to 4) and by Professor Stacul (BKG A to M). The figures within circles indicate structural remains of various nature recorded during the survey (after Olivieri 2003: general plan; descriptions of the structures are given in that volume).
Fig. 6.8 The fortification wall in trench BKG 4–5 (Neg. IsIAO).
Fig. 6.9 The tower at the south-west corner of the town (Neg. 17518/32).
Fig. 6.10 The wall and the tower on the south side in trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16478/33a).
Fig. 6.11 Potsherd with Greek inscription, red ware, inv. no. BKG 516, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 14199/27).
Fig. 6.12 Potsherd with Greek inscription, red ware, inv. no. BKG 852, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15549/6a).
Fig. 6.13 Comparative ceramic evidence from Greek Bactria (J̌iga Tepe, Termez) and Barikot (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.14 Plan of Trench BKG 4–5 in Per. I–III (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.15 Potsherd with black-on-red painted decoration, field reg. no. 1391, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.16 Potsherd with black-on-red painted decoration, field reg. no. 1353, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.17 Potsherd with incised decoration, field reg. no. 1410, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Neg. IsIAO 17526/34a).
Fig. 6.18 Potsherd with embossed decoration, red ware, inv. no. BKG 1326, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16484/10a).
Fig. 6.19 Female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 800, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15548/31a).

Fig. 6.20 Fragment of a female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1533, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 17528/21).
Fig. 6.21 Female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 812, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/21a).
Fig. 6.22 Animal figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1339, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16481/36a).
Fig. 6.23 Animal figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 799, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/9a).
Fig. 6.24 Plan of Trench BKG 1 in Per. IV (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.25 Plan of Trench BKG 4–5 in Per. IV (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.26 The stepped foundation of the rebuilding of the tower in trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16477/12).
Fig. 6.27 Fragment of a 'lotus bowl', red ware, inv. no. BKG 854, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.28 Fragment of a 'lotus bowl', red ware, field reg. no. 1356, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.29 Fragment of embossed black ware, field reg. no. 1383, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.30 Head of a Hellenistic female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 818, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/25a).
Fig. 6.31 A single mould female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 793, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/19a).
Fig. 6.32 Head of a single mould female figurine, red terracotta with white wash, inv. no. BKG 1319, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16476/18a).
Fig. 6.33 Head of a single mould female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1329, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16476/21a).
Fig. 6.34 Plan of Trench BKG 1 in Per. V (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.35 Plan of Trench BKG 4–5 in Per. V (Drawing IsIAO).
Fig. 6.36 The massive walls in trench BKG 1 (Neg. IsIAO 15534/15a).
Fig. 6.37 The palatial building in trench BKG 3, showing the two superimposed phases (Neg. IsIAO 16460/4a).
Fig. 6.38 Potsherd with a Hellenistic *èmblema*, red ware, inv. no. BKG 1516, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 17527/20a).

Fig. 6.39 Grotesque small mask, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 740, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15559/9a).

Fig. 6.40 Fragment of the rim of a bottle of marmorized green glass, inv. no. BKG 766, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15557/10a).

Fig. 6.41 Sealing, clay, inv. no. BKG 739, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15557/20a, 15559/0A).

Fig. 6.42 Sealing, clay, inv. no. BKG 772, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15559/3a, 4a).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ARTISTIC CENTER OF BUTKARA I AND SAIDU SHARIF I IN THE PRE-KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

Domenico Faccenna

To Maurizio Taddei, dear friend and eminent scholar

Evidence on the period we are concerned with in this paper—namely the Pre-Kuṣāṇa period—was yielded by excavation on the Buddhist sacred area of Butkara I, and is associated with further excavations at Pānṛ I and Saidu Sharif I carried out by the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission. Here we shall be considering a number of points in the hope that they may help to settle some of the doubts raised, although the remaining doubts surely will outnumber the likely answers. The evidence is in part already common knowledge, thanks also to a number of studies addressing it in various ways by eminent scholars.

Here we shall confine our attention to two aspects of the period, namely the architecture—particularly the sacred architecture (*stūpa, vihāra*, column)—for which we have the fullest documentation over the longest time-span, and the sculpture. Indeed the two aspects are closely and structurally connected.

We shall begin with the architectural component.

Butkara I Great Stūpa

The spiritual center of the sacred area at Butkara I is the Great Stūpa (GSt.). It shows five successive extensions reflecting the habitational periods in the sacred area, from the third century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. In this paper we consider the major data for the three periods that interest us, marked respectively by GSt. 1, GSt. 2 and GSt. 3.[1]

[1] We refer readers to Domenico Faccenna, *Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan) 1956–1962* (Rome, 1980–1981), cited *Butkara I*, for further details, and to the two volumes of

GSt.1 consists of a large dome (diameter c. 11.00) in blocks of dark phyllite on tall foundations against which abuts a mound of stones, the whole being coated with plaster (Fig. 7.1). This construction encloses a cylindrical structure with the reliquary recess, which constitutes the center of the monument throughout. In the core of the mound, a 'local' coin was found with a crescent on arches and symbols, which Göbl[2] attributed to the "time of Chandragupta Maurya, early third century B.C." Errington recently ascribed the coin to the late third-early second century B.C.,[3] making reference to the publication by Gupta and Hardaker,[4] which is subsequent to the study by Göbl. I agree with Errington, although the dating (early second century) is too late and leaves no reasonable margin of time for the later fortunes of GSt. This is indicated in the name of Dharmarājikā in two later inscriptions.

The mound was subsequently cut through by a circular wall, which brings us to GSt.2 with Period 2 (Fig. 7.2). We now find a dome on a cylindrical storey (diameter 13.44), in accordance with the Indian scheme; there is no molding, and the floor is F5. The cylindrical storey underwent various changes, with the opening of niches at the four compass points, and the subsequent closure of three of them. One exception is the south niche, which was equipped with a projecting structure, and was reconstructed in the form of a podium or flight of steps, the floor being raised to produce F5R (Fig. 7.3).

Dating of this closing stage of GSt.2 to the late second-early first century B.C. is afforded by a Menander coin;[5] found between the first and second structures in a place that seems quite deliberate, possibly an act of consecration. The construction of GSt.2 with the original floor, F5, therefore must be placed somewhere between this date and the date of the coin in GSt.1, namely the second century B.C.

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plates in Domenico Faccenna, *Sculptures from the sacred area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)* (Rome, 1962 and 1964), cited hereafter as *Sculptures*.

[2] Robert Göbl, *A Catalogue of coins from Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan)* (Rome, 1976), no. 3.

[3] Elizabeth Errington, "Numismatic evidence for dating the Buddhist remains of Gandhāra," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6, *Papers in honour of Francine Tissot*, ed. E. Errington and O. Bopearachchi (Kamakura, 1999–2000): 191–216.

[4] P.L. Gupta and T.R. Hardaker, *Ancient Indian silver punchmarked coins of the Magadha-Maurya Kārshāpaṇa series* (Nasik, 1985), series VI.

[5] Göbl 1976, no. 13, drachm with elephant's head and club.

For this and the preceding period—and at any rate before the construction of GSt.3—we have two coins from the sacred area: a punchmarked coin,[6] found in Large Tank no. 219 belonging to Period 1, abandoned in Period 2, and covered by F3 as from Period 3, and a Strato I coin,[7] beneath F4 which is the floor of GSt.3.

This GSt.2 period, with floor F5, saw the appearance of the columns nos. 66, 149, 140[8] (Figs. 7.4, 7.5), rising from the perimeter encircling GSt.2. They stand on smooth pedestals that are either circular or square in plan: the column with circular pedestal rests on a base with torus and cavetto, and the columns with a square pedestal rest on bases characterized by scotia between two tori and with no cavetto. The material is phyllite.

Subsequently, with GSt.2 and floor F5R, and at the same time as the projecting structure on GSt.2 which also receives a moulded base with plinth, torus and cavetto, further columns are inserted into the plan, namely nos. 209 and 214.[9] One of these displays a pedestal with moulding on the base (plinth, torus, cavetto) and cornice (cyma recta between two fillets) (Fig. 7.6). Thus, Period 2 sees an early architectural style enhanced with a monumental element, namely the independent column, and new features such as the base and cornice moulding on the pedestals and the torus and scotia base of the column. However the application of these new elements is in some cases incomplete and the cornices simple, conveying the impression that there was some uncertainty in their use. The material used is the phyllite of the earlier architecture, but the closing phase sees some tentative use being made of different, delicate materials, namely chlorite schist and talc schist.

By the time the new GSt., i.e. GSt.3 (diameter 15.22),[10] had taken shape, mastery in the use of these features was complete (Fig. 7.7). A new conception was coming into its own, reflected in both the major monument and the minor ones. While retaining its traditional circular plan, GSt. was divided into various storeys with sets of steps on the axes, complete with a railing running round the top edge of the first storey. The columns display tall, well-proportioned pedestals

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[6] Göbl 1976, no. 1.
[7] Göbl 1976, no. 12.
[8] *Butkara I*, figs. 61, 64, 68.
[9] *Butkara I*, figs. 69, 74.
[10] *Butkara I*, fig. 30.

with bases characterized by scotia between two tori and cavetto forming the union with the shaft (nos. 143, 33, 67, 78, 213, 93).[11] This possibly was surmounted by a lion sitting on its back legs (Fig. 7.8). The pillar (n. 135)[12] exhibits a figured Gandhāran-Corinthian capital (B 3744)[13] (Fig. 7.9). The *stūpas* (nos. 14, 17, 27)[14] show elaborate moulding with the use of refined materials—talc schist and chlorite schist—with a new architectural vision (Fig. 7.10). Together with these innovations we find a new sense of layout in the area, extending about two focal points, the GSt., on a circular plan, and the Great Vihāra (called during the excavation 'Great Building', GB.), on a quadrangular plan. Both were built at the same time and set on the opposite sides of a large open rectangular space with flights of steps aligned to face one another on the two sides. From GSt.3 there runs tangential to its crown of columns a straight line of *stūpas*, columns, and pillars corresponding to the rectilinear facade of the Great Vihāra, as if adapting its own circular form to it.[15] The walls of the two monuments are divided by chlorite schist pilasters and completed with pictorial decoration.

GSt.3 has the original F4 floor of neatly joined schist slabs. The monuments referred to above, including *stūpas* nos. 14 and 17, which conserve the original sculptural decoration, and pillar no. 135, which we reconstruct as surmounted by a *cakra*, adopt the same new floor. They are coeval with each other and coeval with, or immediately subsequent to, GSt.3. Dating is based on coins and their stratigraphical source.

GSt.3 Dating

This is, of course, a very important point calling for particular attention.[16] A coin in an excellent state of conservation was found in the relic-casket of no. 135, an Azes II tetradrachm (billon/AE) dating

[11] *Butkara I*, figs. 95, 96, 100, 103, 105, 109.

[12] *Butkara I*, fig. 97; Domenico Faccenna, "Note Gandhariche-1. Ricostruzione di un pilastro con *cakra* nell'area sacra di Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan)," *Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale, Napoli* 44 (1984): fig. on p. 327.

[13] *Sculptures*, pls. DLI–DLCIII; Faccenna 1984.

[14] *Butkara I*, figs. 78–90.

[15] *Butkara I*, pl. VIII and General Plan.

[16] *Butkara I*, 167–174 and table II.

to the times of the Great Debasement and thus towards the end of his period. This coins depicts Demeter or Tyche and Hermes, restruck on the Azes' own type elephant and bull.[17] The importance of the coin was stressed by Fabrègues[18] in the consideration on the new Azes II chronology, initially put at 22–1 B.C. and subsequently—after the work by Göbl[19]—attributed to 15/5 B.C./6 A.D.–17/20 A.D. (?) on the evidence of the Indravarma reliquary inscription.[20] The dating of F4 possibly may be attributed to c. 20 A.D., which is confirmed by the find of coins of the same king and in the same level in other parts of the sacred area. One was found in the foundation pit of the Great Vihāra, room *a*,[21] and its location is significant for the dating of the monument; another came from nearby zone FA II(6), in a layer associated with F4[22] and two more from layers connected with RX in the West Wing on the north side of the sacred

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[17] Göbl 1976, no. 15.

[18] Chantal Fabrègues, "The Indo-Parthian beginnings of Gandhara sculpture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 1 (1987): 33–43.

[19] Göbl 1976.

[20] Sir Harold Walter Bailey, "Two Kharoṣṭhī casket inscriptions from Avaca," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1978): 3–13; Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka: ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniṣka," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 67 (1980): 1–43; id., "Numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the chronology of early Gandharan art," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin, 1987), 67–88; A.D.H. Bivar, "The Azes Era and the Indravarma casket," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. Herbert Härtel (Berlin, 1981), 369–376; Richard Salomon, "The 'Avaca' inscription and the origin of the Vikrama era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 59–68; id., "An inscribed silver Buddhist reliquary of the time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116.3 (1996): 418–452; Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) casket inscription reconsidered: further evidence for canonical passage in Buddhist inscriptions," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7.1 (1984): 107–123; Fabrègues 1987; D.W. MacDowall, "The interrelation between Indo-Parthian and Kushan chronology," in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique, sources écrites et documents archéologiques*, ed. Paul Bernard et Frantz Grenet (Paris, 1991), 243–249; id., "Currency pattern at some Graeco-Buddhist monastic sites in Northwest India and Central Asia," in *Colloque internationale sur l'art et l'archéologie des monastères grèco-bouddhiques du Nord-ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie Centrale, 17–18 mars* (Strasbourg, 2000); Morton R. Smith, *Kings and coins in India. Greek and Śaka self-advertisement* (New Delhi, 1997), 84–121; Gérard Fussman, "L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Śaka," *Journal Asiatique* 286.2 (1998): 571–651, in particular 622–641 with regard to Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995–1996): 75–142; Michael Alram, "Indo-Parthian and early Kushan chronology: the numismatic evidence," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology*, ed. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Wien, 1999), 19–48; Errington 1999–2000.

[21] Göbl 1976, no. 24, tetradrachm debased with humped bull and lion.

[22] Göbl 1976, no. 20, tetradrachm with humped bull and lion.

area enclosure, following directly on the Great Vihāra.[23] We might add, as further support for the validity of the sequence offered by these numismatic data, that in the successive phase of the same *stūpa*, GSt.3, marked by the raising of the floor, F3, the intermediate layer between F4 and F3 yielded further Azes II coins[24] together with others (Taxila, Chandragupta Maurya, Pantaleon): these include one of the Kujūla Kadphises type[25] and one of Soter Megas=Vima Takto,[26] the last of which may serve to date the new floor, F3, which is of great importance for establishing the monumental succession. The floor was still being used by the new *stūpa*, GSt.4, in its initial phase. A final, but certainly not minor, point has to do with the imitation Azes II coins,[27] which all come from all the layers of the subsequent periods and phases and thus do not bear directly on our argument.

Alongside GSt.3, which retains the traditional circular plan, the smaller coeval *stūpas*, nos. 14, 17 and 27, take on a new look. In the first place, they rise on a quadrangular storey; their walls are divided by half-columns and pilasters with extended flutings and Gandhāran-Corinthian capitals. On these rests the cornice in the form of a tall architrave which, especially in nos. 14 and 17, shows a curving profile rich in geometrical, plant, and figured decorative devices.

The process of transformation that had begun some decades before finds a happy outcome in GSt. and these minor *stūpas*.

For chronological attribution of these monuments, which the coins, stratigraphy and structures place at the end of the period of Azes II or immediately after it, account must also be taken of the preceding time necessary to develop the new elements, and to adapt to current taste. We also must consider the time needed to design the monuments themselves (GSt., GB.), for renewal and organisation of the area comprised between them in a way that transformed and adapted the new features to the peculiarly Indian monuments, namely the *vihāra* and, in particular, the *stūpa* with its *vedikā*.

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[23] RV, layer 10, Göbl 1976, no. 25, didrachm with humped bull and lion; RIV, layer 8, Göbl 1976, no. 62, tetradrachm with humped bull and lion.

[24] Göbl 1976, no. 23, tetradrachm with humped bull and lion and no. 16, tetradrachm with elephant and humped bull.

[25] Göbl 1976, no. 85, bust of king and Hercules.

[26] Göbl 1976, no. 142, bust of king and king mounted.

[27] Göbl 1976, nos. 28–59, king mounted and Zeus.

Taxila

Parallel developments can be seen at Taxila. In the Śaka-Parthian period the *stūpas* are, apart from one exception on a circular plan, all based on quadrangular plans, walls showing pilaster decoration and in some cases flights of steps or railings or columns on the four corners of the first storey. We are presently revising our studies of these monuments, with detailed examination and new drawings. At Sirkap we may recall the circular-based *stūpa* in Block E,[28] the earliest of the group, with base moulding (plinth, torus, cavetto) from which the tall vertical storey rises, and covered with painted stucco reversed acanthus leaf decoration. For the following period, the *stūpas* in Block A,[29] in Block F,[30] and in Block G,[31] are on a quadrangular plan with walls divided by pilasters, constructed with *kañjūr* ashlar and undoubtedly, like the columns and railing on the quadrangular storey, plastered and painted. We may also mention here *stūpas* B at Jandial B[32] and D3 at Dharmarājikā[33] with pilasters and railing.

The *stūpa* in Block G has pilasters with capitals "made up of horizontal moldings",[34] whereas the *stūpa* in Block F possesses pilasters and half-columns with Gandhāran-Corinthian capitals and frontal intermediate spaces occupied by door motifs in relief.

Turning to the site of Dharmarājikā, one finds an evident similarity between the Great Stūpa together with the associated monuments around it[35] and the Butkara I complex. What are taken to be *stūpas* are, with a fair degree of certainty, columns. Thanks to the courtesy of the then Director General of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Mr Saeed-ur-Rahman, we were able to examine them thoroughly in a past work campaign. The evidence did not escape Sh. Kuwayama, who referred

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[28] Sir John Marshall, *Taxila* (Cambridge, 1951), 157, 158, pls. 27a, 120A; Saifur Rahman Dar, "Dating the monuments of Taxila," in *Urban form and meaning in South Asia: the shaping of cities from prehistoric to colonial times.*, ed. H. Spodek and D.M. Srinivasan (Washington D.C., 1993), 110, 111.

[29] Marshall 1951, 143, 144, pl. 23 a–c; in the reliquary box, Apollodotos II and Azes II coins.

[30] Marshall 1951, 163, 164, pls. 28, 30a; Dar 1993, 111.

[31] Marshall 1951, 167, pls. 27b, 29, 30b; in the reliquary box, Azes II coins.

[32] Marshall 1951, 355, pl. 91.

[33] Marshall 1951, 240.

[34] Marshall 1951, 167.

[35] Marshall 1951, 240–244, pl. 45.

to it on various occasions.[36] The previous identification as *stūpas* probably can be accounted for with the contemporaneous find at Sirkap of the singular monument in Block E, built on a circular plan with walls rising vertically to a fair height, which does not appear to be exceeded by that of the remaining parts of the constructions around the Great Stūpa of Dharmarājikā. Besides, at the time of the excavation there was no knowledge of the ample use made of columns in Gandhāra, of their circular arrangement about a central building, and of the presence of the reliquary recess in their core. With regard to the *stūpa* of Dharmarājikā and the phases of its construction, some doubts remain regarding the earliest structure and the extensions, the original floor and the subsequent higher levels, and the correlation between the latter and the monuments in the surroundings, which certainly belong to various periods.

The constructions and buildings of Taxila include various other monuments. Dating to the Śaka period (Sirkap II), are the Ionic temple of Mohrā Maliārāñ (Shrine A, mid-first century B.C.), with columns and Attic scotia base displaying plinth, double torus and cavetto (three bases, one shaft and one capital are conserved in the Lahore Museum);[37] and possibly dating to the previous Indo-Greek period (Sirkap I), is the Ionic temple of Jaṇḍiāl C with similar Attic base and Ionic capital.[38]

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[36] Shoshin Kuwayama, "Notes on the introduction of square podium to the Taxilan stupa," *Orient* XIV (1978): 23, 24; id., "Buddhist temples in Taxila and Gandhāra: a historical review of monastic arrangements," *The exhibition of Gandhara art of Pakistan*, ed. by Takayasu Higuchi et al., (n.p., 1984), 217; id., *The Main Stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī: a Chronological Outlook* (Kyoto, 1997), 88.

[37] Marshall 1951, 9, 10; Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila and the Western World* (Lahore, 1984), 57–62; Ahmad Hasan Dani, *The historic city of Taxila* (Paris and Tokyo, 1986), 112–115; Claude Rapin, "Hinduism in the Indo-Greek area. Notes on some Indian finds from Bactria and on two temples in Taxila," in *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian archaeology in antiquity*, ed. Antonio Invernizzi (Firenze, 1995), 275–292; Paul Bernard, "III. L'Aornos bactrien et l'Aornos indien. Philostrate et Taxila: géographie, mythe et réalité," in Paul Bernard, Frantz Grenet and Claude Rapin, "De Bactres à Taxila: nouvelles données de géographie historique," *Topoi* 6.2 (1996): 505–512, notes 75 and 92.

[38] Marshall 1951, 56, 222–229 particularly 229 Postscriptum, pl. 44; Volker Thewalt, *Stützelemente und ihr Schmuck in der Architektur der Kuṣāṇā-Zeit*, (Inaugural-Dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität) (Bonn, 1982), 60–62; Dar 1984, 45–53, fig. 12; Dani 1986, 112–115; Rapin 1995, 287–291; Bernard 1996, 507–512 and note 88; Pierfrancesco Callieri, "The North-west of the Indian subcontinent in the Indo-Greek period. The archaeological evidence," in *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian archaeology in antiquity*, ed. A. Invernizzi (Firenze, 1995), 299.

This type of monument cannot have been confined to the Taxila area but must have been widespread, as attested by a small temple with Ionic capitals discovered at Chakdara in lower Swat[39] and destroyed. We may reasonably conjecture that this type was also present in Swat, since the two areas are correlated in other respects. The excavation of Barikot, conducted by Prof. P. Callieri, to whom I entrusted it with full confidence, can—I am sure—offer us such evidence.

Particularly interesting is a comparison between these monuments and GSt.2, both in its last period—the period of Menander—with which they may be coeval, and also with GSt.3 at Butkara I, which they antedate.

Temples and stūpas belong to two different typologies. In the case of temples, the broadly classical-oriental derivation may appear consequent to and characteristic of the newly arriving culture. On the other hand, GSt.3 is outstanding among the *stūpas*, since it represents an utterly different conception of the profoundly Indian monument. This is indeed a sign of great vigour, which could only have been produced by an environment that had changed from its origins.

The Square Storey in the Stūpa

The minor *stūpas* of Butkara I and Taxila witness another, equally important event, namely the inclusion in their schema of a new element—the square (or quadrangular) storey, divided by half-columns or pilasters—which spread into these northwestern regions and became peculiar to them. It represents a new order of ideas ("ein vollig neuer architektonischer Ideenkreis"), as Franz pointed out.[40] It is a revolutionary event that came into this area of Gandhāra, and Kuwayama traced its origins[41] from Rome by means of the relations between

[39] A. Foucher, "Sur la frontière indo-afgane," *Le tour du Monde, journal des voyages et des voyageurs*, n.s. 5 (1899): 496; Elisabeth Errington, "Towards clearer attribution of site provenence for some 19th century collections of Gandhāra sculpture," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, ed. Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri (Rome, 1990), 777.

[40] Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indien* (Leipzig, 1965), 87.

[41] Kuwayama 1978; id., 1997a, 85–97; id. b, "A hidden import from Imperial Rome manifest in stupas," in *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West exchanges at the crossroads of Asia*, ed. Raymond Allchin et al. (New Delhi, 1997), 167.

Rome and the Indian subcontinent in the first century B.C.—first century A.D. The model would be a type existing in late Republican–early Imperial Roman sepulchral architecture, in concomitance with the use of the radial wall system within the *stūpas* of Andhra period India and hence immediately afterwards to the *stūpas* of the Northwest (Dharmarājikā, Sirkap Block E, Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī, Tahkal Bala, Filkhana). It is an interesting hypothesis, although in this correlation certain structural aspects in both the Roman and Indian environments need clarifying. At the same time, however, we can ignore neither the widespread occurrence of the funerary monument on a square basement, subsequently enhanced with elements dividing up the walls, nor the examples of the architectural type in which a circular plan monument (*tholos*) stands on a square basement, precedents for which are to be found as early as the Classical Age with developments in complex superimposed forms. Both types belong to the Hellenistic Age, in the area of Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa.[42]

This architectural type appears in Swat–Gandhāra–Taxila—a fundamentally Indian environment nevertheless pervaded by Hellenistic culture, with its own peculiar features.

Finally, we may remark that as the new architectural type emerged, it seems to have reflected this complexity in a state of marked transformation. At Taxila and Butkara I its two parts do not merge with co-ordinated proportions. The circular storey is small in diameter above the large square basement, while the architraved cornice in *stūpas* 14 and 17 is strikingly tall, coming just below the height of

[42] Janos Fedak, *Monumental tombs of the Hellenistic Age: a study of selected tombs from the pre-Classical to the Early Imperial Age* (Toronto, 1990); Pamela A. Webb, *Hellenistic architectural sculpture. Figural motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean islands* (Madison, 1996); Sandro Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica*, Monografie di Archeologia Libica, IX (Roma, 1975); Antonio Di Vita, "Influences grecques et tradition oriental dans l'art punique de Tripolitanie," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'historie*, École française de Rome 80 (1968), 7–83; id., "Architettura e società nelle città di Tripolitania fra Massinissa e Augusto: qualche nota," in *Architecture et société, de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome 2–4 décembre 1980). Collection de l'École française de Rome 66 (Paris and Rome, 1983), 355–367; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world* (London, 1971); Hans Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt, 1986); A. Kose, "Zur Säulenarchitektur im parthischen Mesopotamien," in *Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur. Bauforschungkolloquium in Berlin 1994*, ed. E.L. Schwandner (Mainz, 1996), 133–147.

the wall (h. of the cornice 0.35, without coping 0.31, h. of the wall 0.42). It also appears that, in this initial period, the new type was applied only to the minor monuments, while the major ones (GSt. and Dharmarājikā) retain the time-honoured circular plan, that was abandoned only later with the Main Stūpa in the sacred area of Saidu Sharif I. For the specifically Indian area in the period in question we may mention the *stūpa* 1 at Sāñcī, which has precedents in Bhārhut and Sāñcī *stūpa* 2 and continues with the *stūpa* 3 of Sāñcī. The square storey does not appear at Mathurā (save some exception), but is found in the area lying between Mathurā and Taxila, at Sanghol, in possibly a slightly later period showing Gandhāran influence.[43] It does not appear in the architecture of Andhra, with a few rare, later exceptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Quadriglyph in no. 17

The second square storey of stūpa no. 17 (max. h. 0.22, length of side 1.41) has another architectural feature, in the form of a quadriglyph appearing between the base and the cornice; there are six on each side, which divide up the wall, and spaces between are painted alternately with red and blue open lotus flowers (Fig. 7.11). This composition possesses marked echoes of a Doric frieze with quadriglyphs and metopes. Focusing on this particular feature—the quadriglyph—we see that it has undergone some transformation while nevertheless respecting the overall canonical scheme. The quadriglyph results from the juxtaposition of the railing pillar having lost the cross-bars on the sides. This identification is borne out by a similar piece, B 3341, also found at Butkara I, not far from the previous example (Fig. 7.12). This piece shows the front vertical band of the shaft adorned with the bead-and-reel motive, as often seen in real contexts.

The Doric order does not appear to be attested elsewhere in the area of Gandhāra, its easternmost appearance to our knowledge being

[43] S.P. Gupta, *Kushāṇ sculptures from Sanghol (1st–2nd century A.D.); a recent discovery*, 1 (New Delhi, 1985); id., "Sanghol: the meeting place of works of art of Gandhara and Mathura schools," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin, 1987), 89–104; Heino Kottkamp, *Der Stupa als Repräsentation des buddhistischen Heilsweges; Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung architektonischer Symbolik*, Studies in Oriental Religions (Wiesbaden, 1992).

at Aï Khanoum (Doric courtyard of the Palace; Gymnasium; room 3 in the northern Complex of the administrative district in the second building phase with some examples of fillets below triglyphs [*regulae*] in unbaked clay, first half of second century B.C.) and at Old Nisa (Square Hall; second century B.C.).[44] In the Parthian Mesopotamian area the Doric order is, with the exception of Ikaros/Failaka, very little attested (see Babylon, Dura Europos, and Nippur, dating to second–first century B.C.),[45] but no frieze material has been conserved. The Doric order is to be found, at times in innovative forms, in the area of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic Age, and throughout the Mediterranean area in both minor and temple architecture, at important centers including Pergamum, Rhodes, Cos, Delos, Ephesus, Antioch, Petra, Alexandria and Cyrene. The Doric order subsequently appears in Roman, Italic, and provincial areas, and is amply attested in funerary architecture between late Republic and early Empire and in works of micro-architecture, with the Roman area receiving and elaborating Hellenistic motifs.[46] All the elements seem to lead us in the direction of this broad Mediterranean, Hellenistic area and also Asia Minor in our quest for the provenance of the motif used in no. 17. This conclusion also takes adequate account of the decorative context extending over the entire *stūpa.*

As we have seen, this frieze motif attests to the presence of extraneous elements belonging to the local tradition. One can see a comparable process of mixing on the entablature of a funerary slab at Alexandria, where a motif of religious nature—the snake-shaped *uraei* in niches—takes the place of triglyphs, though conserving the *regulae* of the latter, while a row of dentils runs above (latter half of the second century B.C.).[47] Motifs of a religious nature are also inserted in the quadriglyph of no. 17. The pillars belong to a railing devoid of cross-bars; disconnected as it is, however, the railing still creates a rhythmic effect encircling the base. The concept it evokes is that of the traditional *vedikā*, of great importance in the definition of the

[44] Galina A. Pugačenkova, "Arhitekturnye pamjatniki Nisy," *Trudy JuTAKE* 1 (1949): 201–230; proposal for a different solution by A. Invernizzi.

[45] Kose 1996.

[46] Giorgio Ortolani, "Tradizione e trasgressione nell'ordine dorico in età ellenistica e romana," *Palladio* 19 (1997): 19–38.

[47] Judith McKenzie, *The architecture of Petra*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology (Oxford, 1990), 88, 89, pl. 216d; Patrizio Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani*, Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano, serie C, vol. III (Roma, 1993), pl. 136.2.

sacred area of the monument. The concept can also be identified in the series of half-columns and pilasters set against the wall of the lower storey,[48] corroborated by the presence of doors (of the classical western type and of the *toraṇa* Indian type), as seen in the *stūpa* in Block F at Sirkap, coeval with no. 17.

The presence of the Doric frieze with its metope and glyph pattern is also important in other respects. Adding to the half-column scheme on the base wall while also recalling the long Greek tradition of figural metope, it possibly may have favored the introduction of the composition of the frieze with panels representing scenes of the life of the Buddha separated by architectural elements. Such compositions, in a linear, horizontal sequence, are a dominant pattern in the area of Gandhāra. The first known and dated example is in the frieze in the Main Stūpa at Saidu Sharif I, which belongs to a period not much later than no. 17.

Thus the Doric frieze might be taken not as a poor imitation or passive influence of distant motifs, but rather a deliberate, original elaboration of them with the inclusion of others from the local religious tradition.

The Dentil and Bar Motif

In the Doric frieze discussed above we find a further feature in the cornice, which is of the Ionic type and displays the dentil motif enhanced with bars in the interstices between the dentils (B 6056; Fig. 7.13). While the motif with dentils alone is widespread in the Hellenistic world, where the dentil profiles differ in breadth and spacing according to the different areas, the presence of bars recalls the Roman world and its characteristic reworking of Hellenistic motifs. The motif appears in Rome in monuments of the early Augustan Age (Regia, Temple of Saturn, Temple of Apollo Palatinus, and the Temple of Apollo *in circo*) and of the Augustan Age (Temple of Castor, Forums of Caesar and Augustus), occurring also with bars executed with a variety of profiles. Subsequently, after the interval under the Flavians (showing the space between the dentils occupied

[48] James Fergusson and James Burgess, *History of Indian and Eastern architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1910), 90, 96; George Michell, "Pilastered walls on Indian stupas and temples," in *The stūpa, its religious, historical and architectural significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden, 1980), 59–71; Kottkamp 1992, 265.

by an "arch and ring" motif), the dentil and bar motif appears in the period of Trajan (Trajan's Forum) and Hadrian (Basilica of Neptune and the Temple of Venus in Rome) to end in the Antonine period.[49] Outside Rome we find it in the Augustan Age in Mauretania, at Iol Caesarea, being brought from Rome by Juba II (see the angular cornice of theatre, Museum of Cherchel; 10–30 A.D.)[50] together with the marbles and marble workers (we know the name of one of them: P. Antius Amphio). This motif is a small but significant detail, of considerable importance in the discussion, recently returned to by Kuwayama, regarding correlations with the Roman world mentioned above. In this case it is worth noting that the relations with the Roman world came following a different route, not one mediated by the South but instead direct.

The Tuscan Capital

The last element to be considered is the pilaster capital with horizontal mouldings appearing between two lion protomes in the cornice of the first storey of no. 17 (Fig. 7.14). The same type of no. 17 is also evident in the pilasters of the quandrangular storey of the *stūpas* in Block G and Block F at Sirkap (Fig. 7.15), and *stūpa* D3 at Dharmarājikā. Taking due account of the stucco facing that must have defined the profile, we must see this not as a Doric capital, or one of Doric derivation, but rather as a type of Tuscan capital. Adopted in the Roman world from the Italic-Hellenistic context,[51] it occurs between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., and

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[49] D.E. Strong and J.B. Ward Perkins, "The Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum," *Papers of the British School at Rome* XXX (1962), 1–30; Christoph F. Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums und ihre Stellung in der früh- und mittelkaiserzeitlichen Architekturdekoration Roms* (Wien-Köln-Graz, 1971); Henner von Hesberg, *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit, Römische Mitteilungen* 24 Ergänzungsheft (Mainz, 1980); Patrizio Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno, architettura e decorazione* (Rome, 1984); Alessandro Viscogliosi, *Il tempio di Apollo 'in circo' e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, Supplementi 3 (Roma, 1996).

[50] Patrizio Pensabene, "Considerazioni sul trasporto di manufatti marmorei in età imperiale a Roma e in altri centri occidentali," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6.2–3 (1972): 324, fig. 2; Hesberg 1980, pl. 26.4.

[51] Guido Rosada, "La tipologia e il significato dell''ordine' tuscanico nell'architettura di Roma," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 139 (1970–1971): 65–126.

then again in the period of Hadrian. It is found in Africa[52] and occasionally in Asia Minor. In the Gandhāran world we may cite the capitals of the pilasters appearing in the Bīmarān casket[53] and in reliefs[54] which, on the evidence of their characteristics, are to be ascribed to Group I of the production of the Butkara I artistic centre. It also appears at Haḍḍa.[55] We can also suppose Roman connections for this type of capital.

Decoration of no. 14

Stūpas nos. 14 and 17—no. 14 in particular—show a richly decorated cornice. Beginning from the bottom (Fig. 7.16), the decoration includes row of ovoli, figured cavetto, dentils and bars, and cyma reversa with Lesbian kymation. The figural detail on the cavetto includes series of lion protomes alternating with various motifs ranging from tufts of acanthus leaves and stylised lilies to *garuḍa* and eagle, winged *putti* on lotus flowers with swords in their hands, birds, and various other objects.[56] Each of these motifs would merit lengthy consideration.

Beginning with the aforementioned cornice, we can range more widely over the figurative field. In terms of schema, decorative features, and style, we may associate this cornice with three fragments undoubtedly from another, similar cornice: B 6841 (Fig. 7.17); B 2587; and B 3792.[57] In the upper part we find again a series of lion protomes below a row of ovoli, alternating here with eagles on

[52] A. Lézine, "Chapiteaux toscans trouvés en Tunisie," *Karthago* 6 (1955): 12–29.

[53] Elisabeth Errington and Joe Cribb, eds., *The Crossroads of Asia. Transformation in image and symbol in the art of ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan* (Cambridge, 1992), no. 191; W. Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*, 2 vols, (London, 1996), no. 659.

[54] From Butkara I, B 1217, *Sculptures*, pl. CDLXX; Isao Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, 1. *The Buddha's life story*, Ancient Buddhist Art Series (Tokyo, 1988), fig. 506.

[55] Stūpa A.12; Jules Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*, I. *Stupas et sites, textes et dessins*. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (Paris, 1933), 31, 32, fig. 187.

[56] *Butkara I*, 241–249, pls. 133–136, 139.

[57] B 6841: Domenico Faccenna, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in Pakistan: some problems of Gandharan art and architecture," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period,* ed. B.G. Gafurov et al., I (Moscow, 1974), 125–176; Fabrègues 1987: 35, fig. 5. B 2587: *Sculptures*, pl. DCLXIIb. B 3792: *Butkara I*, 77, 105, 107, 679, 691, 700, pl. 203a.

lotus flowers. The lower part displays a series of busts and, to the right, an angular protome on acanthus leaf (executed by the same hand as B 17). Appearing side by side, the busts show broad faces and wide eyes with incised pupils; they wear a tunic or, in some cases, a cloak falling from the left shoulder along the side with folds incised in vertical, parallel lines. The male figures exhibit whiskers, hair in rows of curls gathered in a round mass falling over the ears, and *torques* with ends superimposed. The female figures show a sharply defined hairline on the brow and locks on either side, a crown with interwoven fillets, and a necklace worn close on the neck with a small disc at the center or a long pearl necklace. The breasts of the figures look as if flattened against the background, and the spaces between the heads are occupied by open lotus flowers. We have no complete figure. Similar pieces can be seen with much the same decorative motifs (B 714, B 2238, B 6042, B 6043).[58] There are also lion heads, some of which, although from the same workshop, are by different hands, as attested by certain differences in the arrangement of the mane (B 3231 and B 5860). Together with the others, these details are to be taken into account in comparison with other, typologically close cornices that nevertheless show longer-lived motifs.[59] In this respect, it is interesting to compare the original cornices of nos. 14 and 17 with the restored stretch on the southern side of no. 17[60] (Fig. 7.14).

The busts on capital B 3744 of pilaster no. 135 (Figs. 7.18–19), coeval with *stūpas* nos. 14 and 17, while having affinity with these motifs, show a different rendering: broad roundish faces, globular eyes, longer superciliary ridges, small mouths with protruding lips, and sketchy execution of drape folds.[61] Possibly on account of its large dimensions (h. 0.325), the Corinthian capital is constructed differently from those in nos. 14 and 17, with rich detail in the upper part of the *kalathos* and greater plastic quality in the leaves.

The two groups serve to show the variety in production.

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[58] *Sculptures*, pl. DCLXIIa.
[59] E.g., Marshall 1951, pl. 217, nos. 79, 80; Fabrègues 1987.
[60] *Butkara I*, pls. 135b, 136a, b, 146c and pl. 147.
[61] Faccenna 1984; *Sculptures*, pls. DLI–DLIII.

Saidu Sharif I

While the monuments of Butkara I come at the beginning of the Śaka-Parthian period, another monument can be placed at the end of this period. This is the Main Stūpa in the sacred area of Saidu Sharif I and, coeval with it, *stūpas* (nos. 21, 31, 32, 57), columns on pedestal and scotia base (nos. 24 and 29), and minor constructions (nos. 69 and 75) at the sides of the flight of steps.[62] In fact, the former group of monuments can be placed in the first quarter of the first century A.D., while the second group must be attributed to the second quarter, approaching the mid-century, thus one or two generations later.

Dating of the foundation of the Saidu Sharif I complex is based on numismatic and palaeographic data.[63] In the terrace of the monastery, an imitation Azes II coin (drachm with king mounted and Zeus standing)[64] is representative for Period I and two Soter Megas=Vima Takto coins for the beginning of Period II. This chronology is confirmed by the palaeographic evidence of vessel graffiti/inscriptions on potsherds.[65] On the Stūpa Terrace, the frieze that adorned the Main Stūpa shows marks (Kharoṣṭhī letters), which served as a guide in the work of laying them. These characters are no later than the mid-first century A.D. Confirmation is offered by the data derived from the stratigraphic sequence and its correlation with that of the monastery. It is also provided by comparison with Butkara I and Pānṛ I regarding the typology of the monuments, the masonry and the base and cornice mouldings.[66]

The Monastic Complex

This is a period that saw highly significant developments in terms of architecture, and with it the structurally related figural sculpture.

[62] Domenico Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 2. *The Buddhist Sacred Area. the Stūpa Terrace,* Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche: Reports and Memoirs, 23.2 (Rome, 1995).

[63] Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 1. *The Buddhist Sacred Area. The Monastery,* Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche: Reports and Memoirs, 23.1 (Rome, 1989), 117–120.

[64] Göbl 1976, no. 37.

[65] Gérard Fussman, "Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions," in Callieri 1989, chapter 20.

[66] Faccenna 1995, chapters 14 and 15, pp. 528 and 529; id., "Observation on the two complexes. The graveyard and the sacred area, and the correlations between

First we have the formulation of one single design for a monastic complex, clearly defined and organized, situated on a hill slope. The monastery is enclosed by a wall with rooms on two sides looking onto a porticoed, central courtyard. Before it, at a lower level and connected with a double flight of steps, is the Stūpa Terrace, dominated by the Main Stūpa (Fig. 7.20). This *stūpa* is no longer based on a circular plan, henceforth abandoned, but—like the minor *stūpas*—rises on a quadrangular storey surmounted by two cylindrical ones, drum and dome. The *stūpa* has a flight of steps that continues on the second storey and a railing running from the steps along the sides of the quadrangular storey at the corners of which stand columns. At Butkara I, the columns surrounded the circular-plan *stūpas*. In the square-plan stūpa, they are raised beside it at the corners as in the sacred area of Pāṇṛ I; in the sacred area of Saidu Sharif I, they rise onto the storey itself—a feature previously seen on one of the *stūpas* at Sirkap.

The Saidu Sharif I Frieze. Structure

On the second cylindrical storey of the *stūpa*,[67] a frieze in chlorite schist occurs, composed of two superimposed registers (Fig. 7.21). The lower register, Register A, was formed by panels. Each panel contained a figural field with, to the left, a half-column with Gandhāran-Corinthian capital within a moulded frame. Over a hundred fragments have survived, but none show an entire panel. The panels were connected to one another, and they measure 0.455 in height with a reconstructed width of 0.65, reaching a total of 60–65 in a perimetric length of 42.40. They rested on a smooth base and were topped by a cornice with acanthus leaves.

The upper Register B formed a pseudo-railing motif, with pillars connected with *sūcīs*, again on a smooth base and cornice with acanthus leaves. About eighty fragments remain. This register differs from the other by its connective system and the cornice enhanced in the

them," in Francesco Noci, Roberto Macchiarelli, and Domenico Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 3. *The graveyard*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche: Reports and Memoirs, 23.3, (Rome, 1997), 109.

[67] Faccenna 1995, 526–535; id., *Il fregio figurato dello Stūpa Principale nell'area sacra buddhista di Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche: Reports and Memoirs, 28 (Rome, 2001).

lower fillet with dentils and bars. This cornice is identical to those seen on the *stūpas* at Butkara I (cornice on the first storey of no. 14 and cornice on the second storey of no. 17). The pilasters were marked with Kharoṣṭhī letters on the lower part for guidance in positioning.

The panels of Register A contain scenes of the life of the Buddha in strict sequence following a horizontal line from birth to death; they are separated by framed Gandhāran-Corinthian half-columns.

Transference of the scenes onto the stūpa

This frieze documents an important phenomenon, namely the placement of the scenes of the life of the Buddha onto the storey of the *stūpa* itself.

In India the *vedikā* with *toraṇa* is of primary importance in the rite of circumambulation. This is why this structure received the images in the medallions, the coping, the sides of the pillars, and the faces of the architraves. The decorative schema did not take the *stūpa* and its walls into consideration.

This was not so in Gandhāra. As we see in *stūpas* of the GSt. 3 period, *vedikā* and *toraṇa* are no longer used, and a lower, quadrangular storey is introduced into the *stūpa* structure. However, in view of its considerable importance in marking the limits of the sacred enclosure the *vedikā* was evoked. In the early period (Sirkap, Butkara I), it could be above the new quadrangular storey of the *stūpa*.[68] It stands about the upper, circular storey with distinct allusion to its original position. Now it is integrated into the structure of the building itself, with symbolic significance, possibly combined with the idea of embellishment. As we have seen, the *vedikā* is reflected in the half-column schema on the wall of the lower storey of the *stūpa*, and it is blended into the form of a Doric frieze. Again, we find the motif used in depiction of *stūpas*, in the reliquaries and the micro-architecture of the models, applied to the wall of one of the circular storeys of the *stūpa* (Main Stūpa at Saidu Sharif I), usually the upper one. The motif is often to be seen in the *harmikā*, clearly retaining its original significance although rich decoration may disguise it.[69]

[68] Faccenna 1995, 566–575.
[69] Faccenna 1995, 529–535.

Together with the *vedikā* we also may find the *toraṇa*: see Chilas graffiti, a small model *stūpa*, and the *āyāgapaṭa* at Mathurā.[70] Possibly we find a return of the *vedikā* concept in the half-columns of the Saidu Sharif I frieze, with that characteristic use of elements of diverse origin, much as we saw in the case of the quadriglyph in the Doric frieze.

Decorative Elements

Positioning architectural elements to the storey of the *stūpa* brings with it the associated decorative and figured elements.

The Saidu Sharif I frieze marks a most important stage in artistic developments and its probable dating constitutes a very significant reference point.

Scenes of the life of the Buddha divided by architectural elements. The schema

This particular composition—a succession of scenes of the life of the Buddha divided by architectural elements—was the subject of a valuable paper by Maurizio Taddei.[71] It does not appear to find close matches in the Indian world, where accounts of the life of the Buddha were already common in the early first century B.C.—the period attributed to the *stūpa* of Bharhut (after a brief presence in the *stūpa* 2 of Sāñcī). The structures featuring these depictions on the *vedikā*, on the pillars and architraves of the *toraṇa*, illustrating a variety of themes, have undergone thorough and painstaking examination by Dehejia[72] and Taddei.[73] What we do not find in the Indian context, is the schema with scenes of the life of the Buddha separated by architectural elements running horizontally in a continuous chronological sequence ("sequential narrative mode" in the typology of nar-

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[70] Faccenna 1995, pls. 279c, 284a, b, 285b.

[71] Maurizio Taddei, *Arte narrativa tra India e mondo ellenistico*, Conferenze IsMEO 5 (Roma, 1993).

[72] Vidya Dehejia, "On modes of visual narration in early Buddhist art," *The Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 374–392; id., *Discourse in early Buddhist art. Visual narrative of India* (New Delhi, 1997).

[73] Taddei 1993; id., "Oral narrative, visual narrative, literary narrative in ancient Buddhist India," in *India, Tibet, China. Genesis and aspects of traditional narrative*, ed. Alfredo Colonna (Firenze, 1999), 71–85.

rative forms proposed by Dehejia).[74] In the Indian world such a schema only appears later, a rare example being at Mathurā, and in the Andhra Pradesh architecture (Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) where, for the first time, the scenes unfold on the *stūpa* wall.

This form of narration also does not seem to find close matches in the Western world.[75] There is an evident reminiscence in Doric friezes, where we find as early as the Greek archaic period narratives in the metopes separated by triglyphs following a rhythmic pattern (and then in the Telephus frieze on the Pergamum altar, c. mid-second century B.C.; Eumenes II).[76] On entry into the Roman world, this narrative device is found in the great Esquiline paintings with the Odysseus episodes (50–40 B.C.) and, in this late Republican and early Imperial period (c. mid-first century B.C.-mid-first century A.D.), in painting and sculpture. Long friezes in linear horizontal (non-continuative) narration portray scenes from the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Trojan-Latin and Romulus cycles. This narrative device also is found in Roman commemorative and triumphal painting with its long tradition and Hellenistic-Italic cultural features.[77] However, not one of these friezes, nor any of the subsequent examples, on Trajan's column and the Antonine column, sarcophaguses, reliefs, or in painting, narrates the events and stories—real or mythical—of a personage throughout his entire lifespan. We know of just one exception, namely the frieze on the base of the *kline* funerary monument from the Via Portuense in Rome, which dates to the times of the Flavians-Trajan. Found by us in 1949 (Fig. 7.22), it shows scenes of the most important events in a man's life, from birth, school, games, hunting, and work in the fields, to death,[78] though the scenes are not divided by architectural elements.

Images of Mithras occasionally are accompanied by a structure with panels, arranged framewise about a central field occupied by

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[74] Dehejia 1997.

[75] Carl H. Kräling, ed., "Narration in ancient art. A symposium, 57th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago Illinois, December 29, 1955," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957): 43–91; Peter J. Holliday, *Narrative and event in ancient art* (Cambridge, 1993).

[76] Bernard Andreae, "I paesaggi odissiaci dell'Esquilino," in *Ulisse. Il mito e la memoria.* [exh. Cat. Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Roma] (Roma, 1996), 194–199.

[77] Richard Brilliant, *Visual narratives: storytelling in Etruscan and Roman art* (Ithaca and London, 1984) (Ital. transl., Firenze, 1987).

[78] Domenico Faccenna, "Monumento funerario dalla Via Portuense," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 73 (1949–1950), 215–233; Rita Amedik, *Vita privata* (Berlin, 1991), 80, no. 178.

the god. Scenes from the god's life are narrated from birth to glorification. They appear in the West and belong to the latter half of the second century A.D.[79]

Thus, as aptly illustrated by Taddei,[80] the invention of this composition with scenes of the life of the Buddha separated by architectural elements in a continuous horizontal sequence seems to have come about from the fortunate concomitance of diverse factors in the Swat-Gandhāra region. We may consider it an original creation in the art of Gandhāra, and a lasting prerogative of the region. The Saidu Sharif I frieze dating to around the mid-first century rightly can be held to be the earliest dated documentation of it so far known to us.

The frieze. Artistic aspects

In the relief fragment from Saidu Sharif I S 1112 (Fig. 7.23), probably showing the scene of the elephant sent to Siddhārtha on the occasion of the athletic contests, we see the male figure standing with a *paridhāna* displaying parallel folds, narrowing at knee-level to terminate below in crenulate ends and widening out with characteristic lateral, circular flare. The figure is adorned with jewels and wears a turban with vertical lateral wings and a diadem bent backwards. The head is strong and elongated, as are the slightly slanting eyes with incised pupil and iris. The body is tall and slender, and musculature is clearly defined. With the left leg set sideways, the right shoulder drawn back, and the head turned to the right, the figure follows a spiraling line.

The warrior beside him shows the same posture, but is set contrariwise, with lozenge patterned armour and a pectoral disk. The headgear is of a different type—a cloth wrapped about the head with a loose flap hanging down on one side. Above rests the turban in horizontal bands with a small, globular diadem. Behind these figures, a crowd is arranged in rows, with their heads aligned in straight, isocephalic lines.

Similar movement of figures can occur in the scene of the Exchange of Clothes (S 48) (Fig. 7.24). Hunters wear the different type of armour with fringed hems and display fine detail. Again, we have

[79] M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca III. The mithraeum at Marino* (Leiden, 1982).
[80] Taddei 1993.

the athletic contests (S 246) with a young flag-bearer (Fig. 7.25). The figures sitting in the first row have the torso turned and lean forward, with the right arm resting on the knee. On the head one finds a turban with vertical wings, crest protruding and diadem. In the two rows behind, we see the torsos of the crowd, or only the heads, the monotony of a row of faces relieved by their positions. Those in the second row turn to the right with their inclination changing the nearer they are to the object of their attention. The others are in various positions, as if to indicate the wandering interest of the more distant figures.

The figure of an athlete appears in fragment S 1128 (Fig. 7.26). This is the muscular, compact, broad-chested body of an athlete who is no longer young and accustomed to exercise. With the figure behind him, we have two types of youthful hairstyles. Notable here, too, are the fronds of the *pipal* tree with the branch bending under the weight of the peacock. The minute rendering of the feathers is executed with real care and a sense of refinement, using strokes with a sharp tool.

In S 709, the horsemen come out of a city gate (Fig. 7.27), three in the first row with torso and head in different positions. The passage through the gate is rendered by placing figures in various relations to the architrave, some are before it, some below, and some behind. The composition acquires depth with the lines of the walls converging in the distance.

A complex composition is seen in the scene of the Contest over the Relics S 708 (Fig. 7.28). Notable here is the position of the warriors' arms, folded on the left, following a rightward alignment concluding at the sword. Note how muscles of the torso arch, as arm muscles swell.

The attention to minutiae previously noted returns here in the eyelashes of the flutist (S 1137) (Fig. 7.29). Feelings and signs of age appear in the faces of the women looking on as Chandaka returns with the turban (S 622) (Fig. 7.30). The fragment shows two types of female hairstyle, the large crown and the tubular earring applied to cover the ear (cf. with the ear-cover noted by Mackay in the Palmyrene reliefs).[81] Powers of observation and execution are displayed

[81] D. Mackay, "The jewellery of Palmira and its significance," *Iraq* 11 (1949): 160–187.

in the conch sounder (S 1152) with eyes half-closed and cheeks swollen with the strain (Fig. 7.31).

These qualities are particularly marked in the figure of the young man pouring water from a vessel into the outstretched hand of the companion facing him for aspersion of the fallen figure below (S 1124) (Fig. 7.32). Leaning over the vessel, he holds it on his left leg, which is raised and turned towards the right. The movement begins with the left leg and ascends to the shoulders and bent head in a spiral circling about the vessel in the center, which is the key element in the action. The complexity of the posture, careful rendering of the well-proportioned figure and the naturalness of the movement make this piece a work of real quality, and reveal the artist's refinement of sensibility.

The single figure finds completion in its collocation with the other figures in the composition of scenes contained within the panel space (h. 0.41 x reconstructed width 0.51). The compositions have a central axis or are divided into two contrasting parts, or, alternatively, develop in one direction. The figures are arranged in various rows with busts and heads emerging from behind, or organised in isocephalic rows when the upper part of the field is occupied by a tree. Tree and architecture both play important roles in the composition and also identify the action of the scene and its whereabouts.

When the scene appears to develop in one direction, the event may unfold over various panels (e.g. the scene of the athletic contests or of the horsemen leaving the city). In such a case, the dividing element—a half-column—loses any idea of caesura and instead serves as a foreground structure behind which the action takes place.

All the scenes, with the superimposition and interplay of planes, the ample and even complex use of foreshortening, and the dynamic positions of the figures, clearly show an endeavour to surpass the one-dimensional view of a flat surface and to restore a sense of space. Spatial qualities, varied patterns, movement and tension inform the scene with life. The scenes combine a refined technique and a figurative range that is wide but well-defined at the level of categories and functions, with order and precision reflected both in the composition and in the rendering of details.

This work probably saw contributions from various craftsmen, as attested by subtle differences in the rendering of recurrent elements such as capitals and half-columns. Different hands must have been given diverse tasks for the various parts of the panels. Moreover, the

very dimensions of the work suggest that more than one hand must have been kept busy. For example, surviving examples attest to the presence of sculptors' workshops with apprentices at Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I.[82]

We may consider also the frieze of remarkable artistic quality, and the person who conceived it and gave it form a sculptor of great skill and outstanding personality—in short, the Master of Saidu Sharif I.

Contextualising the frieze

Our understanding and evaluation of this remarkable work is all the greater if we see it in terms of the broader, coeval artistic context, again limited to the artistic center in question. For various reasons, we can associate a series of sculptures found at Saidu Sharif I and Butkara I with the frieze of Saidu Sharif I. These scupltures are:

- panel B 1353[83] with the two youthful figures: one, probably Siddhārtha, recalls the young flag-bearer in S 246;
- the series of panels (h. 0.73–0.74) (Figs. 7.33, 7.34), each displaying a figure standing out strongly from the neutral background of the slab;[84]
- and, similarly, the well-known panel B 3673 (Fig. 7.35) with the two young ascetics;[85]
- the two reliefs of the Great Departure and the Great Renunciation, probably belonging to the same frieze, B 524 and B 2472;[86]
- the large, reconstructed relief with the scene of the Great Departure B 6011 consisting of a number of slabs juxtaposed vertically and horizontally to create grandiose effects on an unusually large scale.[87]

These sculptures stand as convincing evidence of the high level of skill the masters and craftsmen had achieved and their sureness of touch

[82] Domenico Faccenna, "Sculptors' trial pieces in Gandharan art," *East and West* 47.1–4 (1997): 67–93.
[83] *Sculptures*, pl. CXCVIII.
[84] *Sculptures*, pls. CLXXXIII–CLXXXVI, CLXXXVIIb–CXCVI.
[85] *Sculptures*, pl. CXCIX.
[86] *Sculptures*, pls. CLI–CLIII.
[87] Domenico Faccenna, "Note Gandhariche-2. Sulla ricostruzione di un grande rilievo da Butkara I raffigurante la partenza di Siddhārtha da Kapilavastu," in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata,* Serie Orientale Roma LVI. 1, 3 vols., ed. Gherardo Gnoli and Lionello Lanciotti (Roma, 1985), 325–341.

in working stone. They created ambitious and sustained compositions also from the technical point of view, and achieved a considerable organizational structure in the workshop, where demands made by the client were exacting. There were virtually no real material limits, with economic resources amply available, and a strong demand determined by religious faith and the economy of rich, influential classes.

The Master of Saidu I had his roots in this artistic environment, drawing from it for his repertoire and leaving on the tradition the stamp of his own personality and art.

Group I

On the basis of the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics exhibited by these two groups of sculptures, centring on *stūpas* nos. 14 and 17 of Butkara I, and on the frieze on the Main Stūpa of Saidu Sharif I, we can draw comparisons with a large body of material showing affinity to them.

As I have had occasion to point out elsewhere, these sculptures form Group I, the first of the three major groups ascribed to all the material from the center of Butkara I and other centers close to it, of Pānṛ I and of Saidu Sharif I. Group attribution is based on application of the combinative method to intrinsic and extrinsic elements, thus affording the possibility to combine pieces that later vicissitudes had divided. On the basis of certain evident characteristics, the three groups, each with many series, are conventionally termed thus: Group I, "drawing"; Group II, "naturalistic"; Group III, "stereometric".

The plates in Butkara I volumes, *Sculptures* II.2 and II.3, were arranged with this grouping in mind (please note that the material subsequently excavated at Pānṛ I and Saidu Sharif I is not represented): "drawing", pls. CXXXVII–CCLXXXVIII; "naturalistic", pls. XVIII–CXII; "stereometric", pls. CCLXXXIX–CCCXXXV. The correlation between the groups can be observed with reliefs reworked at different times (i.e. we find slabs with reliefs belonging to one group reused on the other side for a relief belonging to a successive group: see pls. CDLXXXVIII–DXIX).

Let us now take a closer look at Group I—the group that interests us here—to explore the wealth of expressive qualities shown in the many series that make it up. Each series is the product of one or more hands working in close understanding in a workshop, and

each series communicates with its own particular accent, which may mingle with or depart from the others', having its own typological repertoire and approach to composition. We shall be referring to plates in Butkara I volumes, *Sculptures* II.2 and II.3 CXXXVII-CCLXXXVIII, CDXIII–CDLVII, CDLXIV–CDLXXXI, DXLVII-DLVIII, DLXVII–DLXXXI, DXCIX–DCVI, DCLX–DCLXV, carefully assembled by Maurizio Taddei. We shall take a brief look at them here since, with the remaining material, they are the object of a complete and comprehensive publication, on which I had been working with Maurizio Taddei and which will soon be ready.

With a few relatively modest exceptions of excellent crafting, the reliefs show in some cases a schematic composition with frontal, rather stiff figures organized over various, somewhat flattened planes with "drawing" attention to details.[88] In others, one finds a rich but always balanced composition with some figures. Forcefulness is enhanced with simplification of the body volumes, focussing on certain significant parts (i.e. the hands) while enlarging others (i.e. heads, eyes). The style is documented, for example, in lunettes B 6694[89] (Fig. 7.36) and B 7362.[90] This work shows powers of observation, as in the rendering of the frail, aged figure of the servant with realistic facial features who brings the jug, viewed from behind. The arrangement of the thin-bodied figures in two isocephalic rows and the attitudes they display, with characteristic angular folding of the arms and hands, recall the Saidu Sharif I frieze. The great lunette, B 2816, representing the presentation of Yaśodhara to Siddhārtha,[91] and reminiscent of the fragment of the Saidu Sharif I frieze S 305, is complex, full of movement, rendered with a sense of space, and exhibits some significant hierarchic differences in the proportions of the figures. The sense of movement reaches a remarkable degree of tensity in panel B 683[92] with the procession of the elephant. Note also the striking expressive qualities seen in the relief with musician

[88] *Sculptures*, pls. CXXXVII–CXXXIX.

[89] Mentioned in her well-known article by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "Gandhāra and Mathurā: their cultural relationship," in *Aspects of Indian art, papers presented in a symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), fig. 19.

[90] Giuseppe Tucci, *Il trono di diamante* (Bari, 1967), fig. on p. 176.

[91] *Sculptures*, pls. CLXII–CLXIV.

[92] *Sculptures*, pl. CDLXXI.

and dancer, B 5937[93] (Fig. 7.37), where rhythm is achieved with the circular movement of angular arms and contrasting bending of the legs, underlined by the parallel grooves of the dress.

Other panels reveal a different artistic sensibility[94] (Fig. 7.38), of rather crude execution, in the basic, schematic lines of the drapes on a broad, flattened body: some of them have been examined by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw[95] (depiction of the Buddha's feet in the Descent from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven: B2524; Fig. 7.39) and by Carter.[96] An extensive series of mostly small reliefs of peculiar but unimpressive craftsmanship show a schematic composition with the sitting Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* or *abhayamudrā* between two worshippers.[97] Among the statues, we may recall the series of standing female figures, the *yakṣī*, nude with *mekhalā* and band,[98] the statue of a female donor or divinity (Hāritī?),[99] the stele sculpted on two sides with Pāñcika-Hāritī and Atlas, recalling numerous other small female[100] and male figures in Parthian costume mentioned by Fabrègues and attributed to a later period by Sarkhosh Curtis.[101] Besides, we have a great many elements including cornices, brackets, capitals, discs, pseudo-niches, reliefs with superimposed scenes or with adjacent scenes separated by small columns,[102] and, finally, a series of independent elements with *putti* holding festoons and winged Phrygians.

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[93] Faccenna 1974: fig. 39; Carolyn Woodford Schmidt, *Bodhisattva headdresses and hair styles in Buddhist art of Gandhāra and related regions of Swāt and Afghanistan*, unpublished thesis (Ann Arbor, 1990), fig. 340.

[94] *Sculptures*, pls. CCXXXIII–CCXXXVII.

[95] J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New evidence with regard to the origin of the Buddha image," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. Herbert Härtel (Berlin, 1981), fig. 21; *Sculptures*, pl. CCXXXIII.

[96] Martha L. Carter, "Petroglyphs at Chilas II: evidence for a pre-iconic phase of Buddhist art in Gandhara," in *South Asian Archaeology 1991*, ed. Adalbert J. Gail and Gerhard J.R. Mevissen (Stuttgart, 1993), fig. 24.15; id., "A reappraisal of the Bīmarān reliquary," in *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West exchanges at the crossroads of Asia*, ed. Raymond Allchin et al. (New Delhi, 1997), figs. 13 and 14.

[97] *Sculptures*, pls. CCXI–CCXXVIII.

[98] *Sculptures*, pls. CDXXVI–CDXXIX.

[99] Domenico Faccenna, "Alcuni segni facciali nel Medio e Vicino Oriente," in *Alle soglie della classicità, il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, ed. Enrico Acquaro (Pisa and Roma, 1996), fig. 1; Anna Maria Quagliotti, "An inscribed image of Hārītī in the Chandigarh Government Museum and Art Gallery," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6 (1999–2000): fig. 7.

[100] *Sculptures*, pls. CDXXXVIII, CDXXXIX.

[101] *Sculptures*, pls. CDLXXX, CDLXXXI; Fabrègues 1987, fig. 10; Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, "A Parthian statuette from Susa and the bronze statue from Shami," *Iran* 31 (1993): pl. XXIIc.

[102] *Sculptures*, pls. CCCXXXVI–CCCXXXIX, CCCLI–CCCLIV, CCCLXXIV–CCCLXXVIII, CCCXCV, CCCXCVI.

The schema consisting of a succession of scenes separated by architectural elements is also to be found among the sculptures belonging to this Group I, although exact placement in terms of the established chronological references cannot be made. Here, we may recall the relief[103] (Fig. 7.40), depicting the Buddha sitting between two or more worshippers. Although the schema is the same as seen in the Saidu Sharif I frieze, the content is entirely different, the focus is on a single and static subject, and the scene is isolated and immobile, with no biographical but, rather, generic, "unbiographical"[104] content. The difference in subject matter must have been matched by a different placing of the friezes in the decorative composition of the *stūpa*, as can be seen in the reliefs with superimposed registers.

The two temporal elements acquired with nos. 14, 17, and 135 of Butkara I and with the frieze of Saidu Sharif I are of decidedly fundamental importance, although they cannot simply be taken as corresponding to the beginning and end of a production. The frieze certainly does not represent the end, just as we cannot argue that *stūpas* nos. 14, 17, 135 mark the beginning. Examination of the material in Group I has revealed figurative and compositional aspects that endow this period—spanning mainly the first half of the first century—with its own particular expressive qualities.

The Buddha

The question about the appearance of the Buddha figure depicted in the various phases of his life is as obvious as it is inevitable.

The figure does not appear in the cornices of nos. 14 and 17, nor in those associated with them, nor in the capital of no. 135 or similar elements. The Saidu Sharif I frieze conserves a faint trace of the figure of Siddhārtha in the scene of the Exchange of Clothing with the Hunters (S 48) and of Chandaka's Return (S 622).

Nevertheless, we can recover his image as it appeared in the artistic production of Group I at Butkara I. Frequently we find the figure of Siddhārtha in the various scenes of his life and the figure of the Bodhisattva standing opposite in *abhayamudrā* with *paridhāna, uttarīya* and turban; less frequently one sees the image of the Bodhisattva in

[103] *Sculptures*, pls. CCXVI, CCXVII, CCXIX.
[104] Zwalf 1996, 53.

padmāsana, devoid of jewels and turban, while the sitting or standing Buddha figure is neglected. Finally, there is no sign at all of the Bodhisattva figure, whether standing or sitting alone, bejewelled, with or without turban.

The figures of the sitting Bodhisattva and sitting or standing Buddha seem to be concentrated mainly in one series in the Group in question.[105] The basic schema consists of the figure sitting between Indra and Brahmā or worshippers, with variants in headdress, eyes and clothing; a hem of the Bodhisattva's attire appears from beneath crossed feet;[106] in depictions of the Buddha the monastic habit covers the body in part or wholly, in some cases falling over the feet and hiding the hands, as van Lohuizen-de Leeuw pointed out.[107] Limited in this ambit is a series of pieces, small in format and somewhat mediocre in execution, with simplified depiction of the Buddha with *paridhāna* and *uttarīya* between two worshippers. The series can be divided into two groups in terms of execution, each with a different type of schist, slate black in one[108] (Fig. 7.41), green in the other (Fig. 7.42, studied by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw).[109] The figure of the Buddha takes on a rigid, lean form, with angular arms reaching out to create a triangle, and attire marked by lines running parallel in abstract linearity.

The standing Buddha with monastic robe shows a few rare appearances in this Group. He is seen in the large relief B 655 reused in a niche in GSt. 4 (Fig. 7.43), on a lotus flower, with worshipers on either side in three rows filling the entire field, and in another statuette (B 4324).[110]

Thus, with requisite caution, I believe we may say that Group I most often shows the sitting Buddha figure, and that the standing one appears only rarely. This characteristic type of representation probably comes around or after the mid-first century. However, we must also acknowledge that the figure had appeared already in the Saidu Sharif I frieze. Therefore we must attribute this innovation to the Master of Saidu himself, or rather to his period. We must also

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[105] *Sculptures*, pls. CCVI–CCXXVIII.
[106] *Sculptures*, pls. CCVI–CCXII.
[107] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981: fig. 34; *Sculptures*, pls. CCXIII, CCXIV.
[108] *Sculptures*, pls. CCXI, CCXIIb.
[109] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981: fig. 10.
[110] *Sculptures*, pls. CCIV, CCV.

recognize that in the Saidu Sharif I frieze, the Buddha figure is inserted in biographical scenes, while in the other cases it is "unbiographical."

Some considerations

We have tentatively offered a picture of the artistic achievements in architecture and sculpture at this center during the first half of the first century A.D., corresponding to the Śaka and Parthian periods of history, while also taking into account preceding periods. The actual span of the period is as far as possible reckoned on the basis of what has been conserved and the archaeological evidence. Alas, the demands of certainty and precision cannot be met. Complex problems are raised by the characteristic elements of this production.

On the one hand, observing the work of the Master of Saidu Sharif I and of Group I as a whole, we find clearly defined typologies and figurative schemes such as are to be seen in the current production of Gandhāra. These are the outcome of developments in a tradition drawing clearly and amply on both Indian and Western repertoires. The interest here lies in defining when and how the phenomenon arose in this Gandhāran region, in what form did it first appear and how did it take on those features characterizing the Saidu Sharif I frieze towards the mid-first century. The same questions arise regarding other monuments. We thus have to take into account the evidence afforded by other monuments in the preceding period (in particular the columns of Butkara I and the temples of Taxila).

Investigating the formation and chronological development of these works is, of course, a somewhat more complex matter. Here, evaluation is conducted with internal examination of them, and one approaches them as independent phenomena. The attendant philological investigation obviously requires examination of all materials (terracotta, seals, toilet-trays), and of various other cultural, religious, and social aspects. We have to also consider the spread of eastern Hellenistic, Bactrian, and Indo-Greek culture—which the Menander coin in GSt. 2 seems to herald symbolically—and the culture of the Hellenistic-microasiatic, Iranian, and Roman worlds, their dates and how deeply they penetrated into Gandhāra. Our considerations must also extend to the presence and penetration of Buddhism in these areas, the form it took, which classes embraced it (e.g. commercial, political, religious), and how deeply Buddhism reached a world that,

in language, customs and religion, "was basically Indian"[111]—questions that have been re-examined with insight by Fussman.[112] Finally, we have to consider the depiction of Buddha images that eventually appeared in Group I in limited production and typology. Such investigation will, as a general principle, seek to understand how and to what extent the artistic production and architectural activity reflect and reveal to us the various situations taken into account.

Examination of this complex and varied material entails reconstruction of the various possible centers of artistic production (cf. the works of Errington and Swati),[113] beginning with Butkara I, then Swat and the adjacent valleys, and thus through ever widening circles into the Gandhāran region. First each center with its own production can be considered by itself, before continuing to examine the synchronic and diachronic links. At the same time, we must take care not to superimpose our own schemes and theories on what the work itself has to tell us, the risk being to extend a veil of uniformity over the works or miss lines of development that may be original or taken up successively at different times. Thus, the risk is ever present in our field of study to falsify the sequence of artistic expressions. Finally, we have to achieve a relative—and where possible absolute—chronological dating of the material within each center. Such are the indispensable and, indeed, obvious conditions needed for subsequent comparison between the materials from the various centers in order to ascertain their influences, spread, and exportations (as seen at Taxila). Thus, we shall gain a better understanding of the production in the various areas and piece together a picture of the entire corpus in its historical background, in the region of Gandhāra.[114] In conclusion, such a reconstruction will also have some weight in the evaluation of the artistic production of Swat and, in particular, of Butkara I, and the role it plays in this vast and complex picture.

The way may appear neither short nor easy, but it is the only right way to proceed.

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[111] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1972: 43.

[112] Gérard Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya. L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra," in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations. Actes de colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991*, ed. Fumimasa Fukui and Gérard Fussman (Paris, 1994), 17–51.

[113] Elizabeth Errington, *The Western discovery of the art of Gandhara and the finds of Jamālgarhī*, unpublished thesis (London, 1987); Mohammad Farooq Swati, "Special feature of Buddhist art in the Swat valley," *Āthāriyyāt (Archaeology)* 1 (1997): 1–60.

[114] Fussman 1987.

The photographs of monuments and sculptures deriving from excavations at Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I were taken by Francesca Bonardi; the photograph in Fig. 7.15 by Roberto Sabelli; the drawings are by Giovanni Ioppolo (Figs. 7.1–8, 10), Luca Mariani (Fig. 7.9) and Francesco Martore (Figs. 7.20–21).

All the graphic material is property of the Instituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO).

Illustrations

Fig. 7.25 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 246: Athletic Contest with young flag-bearer.
Fig. 7.26 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 1128: Athletic Contest.
Fig. 7.27 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 709: horsemen from a city gate.
Fig. 7.28 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 708: Contest over the Relics.
Fig. 7.29 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 1137: musicians; flutist.
Fig. 7.30 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 622: Return of Chandaka.
Fig. 7.31 Saidu Sharif I. Main *Stūpa*; the frieze; relief, S 1152: musicians; conch player.
Fig. 7.32 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1124: Athletic Contest.
Fig. 7.33 Butkara I. Relief, B 2559: male figure holding a garland (after *Sculptures*, pl. CLXXXIII).
Fig. 7.34 Butkara I. Relief, B 2494: female figure playing cymbals (after *Sculptures*, pl. CXC).
Fig. 7.35 Butkara I. Relief, B 3673: two young ascetics (after *Sculptures*, pl. CXCIX).
Fig. 7.36 Butkara I. Relief, B 6694: sitting Buddha and worshippers.
Fig. 7.37 Butkara I. Relief, B 5937: dancer and musician.
Fig. 7.38 Butkara I. Relief, B 1690: Siddhārtha Rides to School (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXXXIV).
Fig. 7.39 Butkara I. Relief, B 2524: Descent from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXXXIII).
Fig. 7.40 Butkara I. Relief, B 1545: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXVI).
Fig. 7.41 Butkara I. Relief, B 2147: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXIa).
Fig. 7.42 Butkara I. Relief, B 6461: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981, fig. 10).
Fig. 7.43 Butkara I. Relief, B 655: standing Buddha and worshippers (after *Butkara I*, pl. 79a).

CHAPTER EIGHT

KAÑJŪR ASHLAR AND DIAPER MASONRY TWO BUILDING PHASES IN TAXILA OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Shoshin Kuwayama*

Square Podium with a Staircase

The architectural technique of building a high circular podium with internal spoke walls radiating from a central hub structure to the outer thick ring wall to produce a wheel-shaped structural pattern

* To Dr. Doris Meth Srinivasan, the organizer of the symposium, I apologize for my unavoidable absence. For the revision of the final draft, she allowed me time to check various comments given by Profs. Gregory Schopen, S.P. Gupta, Richard Salomon, Pierfrancesco Callieri, and Gérard Fussman and all recorded on tape at the symposium. Dr. Kurt Behrendt promptly accepted my request to read the paper in my place. To all of these scholars my appreciation is due.

This paper reevaluates old excavations at Taxila, based on my personal observations at the sites in Taxila in 1963–1996. The field researches in Taxila do not include any new excavations at the sites. Prof. Gérard Fussman told in the symposium that any reevaluation of the old Taxila excavations requires consideration of the results of modern excavations in Swat, several important and rather imposing reports of which have been published by the IsMEO and then the IsIAO in the past four decades. Recent archaeological works, including those by the Pakistani and the Japanese teams in Swat, Dir, and Yusufzai, were reviewed by the late Prof. Maurizio Taddei in a paper given in the symposium on Gandhāran Buddhism at McMaster and Toronto Universities in May 1999. This paper is included in his posthumous volumes: Maurizio Taddei, "Recent Archaeological Researches in Gandhāra," *On Gandhāra*: *Collected Articles*, Università degli Studi Napoli "L'Orientale," Collana "Collectanea" III, 2 vols., ed. Giovanni Verardi and Anna Filigenzi (Naples, 2003), 517–539. Even in the case of modern excavations, as Tadddei noted, excavators' chronology should be examined carefully. Archaeologists, familiar with the Buddhist monuments in Yusufzai and Swat, are well aware of how the stonework itself and its development there differ from that in Taxila. The Butkara I and Andan Dheri examples show that ashlar masonry became popular later in Swat. Any chronological sequence of masonry in Swat cannot be a model for that in Taxila. We know that a comparative study is essential for our understanding of the Northwest monastic archaeology. But I have been feeling that several modest trenches at appropriate spots along the existing stūpas and monastic buildings can lead to our better understanding of the development of monastic life in Taxila, rather than enormous efforts of an expansive enterprise.

was first used in the mausoleum of Augustus built in B.C. 28 in the Campus Martius, Rome. The technique was devised to get a lofty circular plinth for a colossal construction. The wheel-shaped structure inside the base of a round tomb building was widespread in the north and the northwestern provinces of Imperial Rome in the following centuries. As if being an eastern counterpart, such a structure appeared in the South Asian subcontinent, especially inside the stūpas of Buddhist Āndhradeśa in a time contemporary with early Julio-Claudian Rome. The large *stūpa* in the open air had traditionally looked depressed in its overall shape. The newly introduced Roman technique enabled a shape to be elevated with a lofty drum-like plinth by setting the wheel-shaped structure inside it. The incorporation of this structure in the *stūpa* is a manifest result from the intercourse between Rome and the South Asian subcontinent in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. The wheel-shaped pattern eventually reached the Northwest, but the northern examples lack features architecturally essential for the wheel-shaped structure. Northern *stūpa* builders, without understanding why the southern Buddhists needed it, took up only a shape: the radial walls either converge at the center, as seen at the main *stūpa* of the Jain Kaṇkālī Tīḷā in Mathurā, or meet at the central huge hub structure, as at the Buddhist Dharmarājikā in Taxila, but neither *stūpa* has a thick outer ring wall.[1]

In the Northwest, in order to increase the height of *stūpas*, builders instead preferred choosing the square podium. The first good examples are in the Dharmarājikā monastery and Sirkap city area in Taxila. In Sirkap, a dozen *stūpas* were raised at eight locations in

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The city layout of Sirkap more or less followed a Hellenistic chess-board pattern. Marshall calls the blocks west of the Main Street A', B', C', . . . adding a single apostrophe after each letter. As to the designation of blocks by numbers and letters, see John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951), 140. In order to make it clear to record the findspots horizontally, he divided the entire area of Sirkap into a grid pattern. He named each grid with two sets of numbers, such as Square [Sq.] 63.62'. In this case, 63 stands for the sixty-third square numbered from the north, while 62 followed by a single apostrophe indicates the sixty-second from the east. To describe such grids and blocks in the following discussion I follow Marshall.

[1] Shoshin Kuwayama, "A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stupas," in *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, eds. Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin, Neil Kreitman and Elizabeth Errington (Cambridge, 1997), 119–171. Shoshin Kuwayama, *The Main Stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī*, (Kyoto, 1997), 5–15.

Marshall's stratum II, or Wheeler's phase III.[2] Six of them faced the Main Street (Fig. 8.1).[3] In each case, the *stūpa* has a single square podium, on which the drum, dome, and surmounting umbrella might be surrounded by a balustrade, as found in Block 1F and displayed in the Taxila Archaeological Museum.

Most *stūpas* are faced with *kañjūr* ashlar, a chiseled block of local porous stone that requires a covering of lime plaster, or stucco which had never been used so prominently in the South Asian subcontinent before it was introduced to Taxila.[4] Like lime plaster, or stucco on *kañjūr*, the square podium of the *stūpa* was also previously unknown anywhere in the South Asian subcontinent. The outward appearance was not just an undecorated cube, but it was supported by torus-and-scotia mouldings on the foundation and was bordered by a cornice and brackets on the upper margin. In most cases, each lateral face was divided into a certain number of bays by pilasters. The elements of the pilasters were also carved out of *kañjūr* stone, to which stucco was applied and then painted.

The association of a square with a circle in the *stūpa* was revolutionary, because the stūpa ritual like *pradakṣiṇa*, or circumambulation, might have originated in the concept of an ancient cosmic axis, according to Irwin.[5] So, the square is inconsistent with the cult of stūpa, which is circular in plan from the outset. However, as Xuanzang recorded in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, the Northwest, or Xuanzang's North India, was called the country of the *mleccha*, where social and cultural traditions differed from those of Madhyadeśa. In such a frontier country, combinations of different cultural traditions could easily

[2] Phase III was dated by Ghosh and Wheeler to the later half of the first century A.D. See A. Ghosh, "Taxila (Sirkap) 1944–45," *Ancient India* 4 (July 1947–January 1948): 45–46.

[3] Excavation has revealed that the earliest Buddhist structure at Sirkap is a modest circular *stūpa* in a small court (A) at the northwest corner of the house in Block lE. The level from which it originated, according to Marshall, is older than the surrounding house. This *stūpa* is rooted in the third stratum of Marshall's excavation or Wheeler's Phase II (dated by Ghosh to the first half of the first century A.D.) The *stūpa* is faced with *kañjūr* blocks and decorated elaborately with an unusual type of acanthus ornament boldly modeled in painted lime stucco. In addition to the anomalous decoration, this early monument has an unusual shape, if it indeed is a *stūpa*. See Marshall, 1951, Pl. 120A.

[4] K.M. Varma, *Technique of Gandhāran and Indo-Afghan stucco images, including images of gypsum compound* (Santiniketan, 1987), 25–26.

[5] John Irwin, "The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis: The Archaeological Evidence," *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, 2 vols., ed. Maurizio Taddei (Naples, 1979): 799–845.

be accepted, even in the case of purely Indian rituals represented by structures such as *stūpa*.

The square podium, in addition, had a staircase leading to the upper surface, on which stands the hemispherical dome, supported by a drum, with umbrellas on top. Performing the circumambulatory rite on the square podium seems impossible. Particularly in those cases where pillars are standing at the four corners as exemplified at *stūpas* 1G and 1F in Sirkap (fig. 8.14), there is no space for walking around the drum on the podium. Thus, the staircase must not have been of practical use but rather indicates the facade of the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* became an object worshipped frontally in the first century at Taxila.

Could a simple cubic podium and architectural decorations be introduced separately in Taxila and eventually associated to give a new design to a *stūpa*? The answer is, of course, negative. A model for such a *stūpa*, or circular architecture supported by a square podium, can be the early Imperial Roman mausoleum style: a circular drum is set on a square podium. A good example is the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia in a southern suburb of Rome which is, according to Toynbee,[6] not to be considered pre-Augustan. The tomb at Pozzuoli near San Vito and the mausoleum at Marano near Naples are both imposing examples of a podium supporting a circular body. Unless people in the Northwest were already ideologically predisposed to regard a *stūpa* as a sepulchral monument, they would not have adopted a structural form having the outward appearance of Roman mausolea. The *stūpa* in Taxila of the first century A.D. had evidently been conceived as ideologically similar to the Roman predecessors.

Taxila was connected by road, through Ujjain or directly, with Barygaza and/or Barbarikon on the southern coast. As Wheeler suggested, the usage of lime plaster in Taxila as a decorative medium came from Roman Alexandria in Egypt through the Red Sea ports to peninsular India.[7] The square podium with a staircase in front seems to have been introduced in a stage before devotional cult images made their first appearance in Taxila. No positive evidence

[6] J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, (London, 1971), 155.
[7] Sir R.E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome beyond the imperial frontiers*, (Harmondsworth, 1954), 200–201.

exists in Sirkap, and in the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* court, for an association of early carved images with *stūpas* supported by square podiums faced in *kañjūr* ashlar masonry. As discussed below, cult images first came into being along with the early diaper masonry.

Stucco Heads from the Apsidal Temple: Find Spots and Character

In relation to the first appearance of carved cult images in the Northwest, some stucco heads from Sirkap deserve mention.[8] They were unearthed in the spacious court of the Apsidal Temple in Block D of Sirkap. In the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for the Years 1912–13*, his first report on the excavation at the Apsidal Temple, Marshall says: "Immediately in front of the monks' cells and to the right and left of the entrance of the temple are the foundations of two small *stūpas* . . . and only one course of the foundations is now entire. On and around the foundation bases however were found numerous blocks of *kañjūr* stone together with stucco heads and decorative objects which had once served to adorn the edifice."[9] In the final report of 1951, Marshall described the discovery of the same stucco heads: "The superstructure of the stūpas had been destroyed, . . . and only one course of the foundations had survived; but amid the enveloping debris I found a quantity of kañjūr blocks used in the facing of the structures, and a number of image heads and other decorative fragments which had once served to adorn them."[10]

Marshall nowhere mentioned how many heads were found. In the above *Annual Report* twelve stucco pieces are listed, all being heads except a fragment representing a cluster of grapes. In Pls. XVII and XVIII of that report Marshall showed only ten heads, which correspond to nos. 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, and 16–19 of those listed below and illustrated in figs 8.2 and 8.3. In his final report of 1951 he increased the number of the stucco pieces found in the Apsidal Temple, saying that these stucco pieces are described individually in

[8] Marshall 1951, 150–155.
[9] *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for the Years 1912–13*, 23 [hereafter *ASIAR*].
[10] Marshall 1951, 154.

chapter 26, nos. 1–29, and are illustrated in Pls. 148 and 149. However, strangely enough, no. 6, of Marshall's twenty-nine pieces, is from the Trench A 481 inside Sirkap. No. 11 is clearly described to have been "found in Block B" of Sirkap. No. 17 is also unearthed at another location different from the Apsidal Temple, or southwest of Block D of Sirkap. No. 23 is the biggest fragment of the torsos or limbs found in Square [Sq.] 54.61', and nos. 24–29 are all architectural fragments of the "small stūpas" in front of the Apsidal Temple, not statues at all.[11] Thus, of 29 stucco pieces in all, the heads, nos. 6, 11 and 17 of his final report, should not be included in the finds at the Apsidal Temple. Moreover, the stucco pieces Nos. 23–29 are not heads. Clearly the stucco heads Marshall found in the Aspidal Temple must have been nineteen, a list of which is given below. As to the illustrations of all nineteen pieces, please see Marshall, 1951, Pls. 148 and 149. Only ten of them are reproduced here in our Figs. 8.2 and 8.3 after *ASIAR 1912–13*, Pls. XVII and XVIII. Since Marshall believes that the stucco heads came from the two "small stūpas," I add to the columns the horizontal find-spot (e.g., Square [Sq.] 63.62'), not to speak of vertical location (e.g., Stratum [St.] II. Please note in the list that *ASIAR* refers to *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* and the Arabic numbers of plates are for Marshall 1951).

(1) Sq. 54.60'. St. II. Pl. 149, e. Height 5.5 in. (approx. 14 cm).
(2) Sq. 54.61'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 4. H. 5 in. (approx. 13 cm).
(3) Sq. 54.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 5. H. 6. 37 in. (approx. 16 cm).
(4) Sq. 54.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 15; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xvii, d. H. 6. 25 in. (approx. 15.8 cm). (See Fig. 8.2: 4).
(5) Sq. 54.62'. St. II. Pl. 149, h; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xvii, a. H. 13.5 in. (approx. 34 cm). (See Fig. 8.2: 1).
(6) Sq. 54.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 3. H. 6 in. (approx. 15 cm).
(7) Sq. 55.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 2; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xviii, c. H. 4. 5 in. (approx. 11.4 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 7).

[11] Since all that survived of the "small stūpas" is "only one course of the foundations," it is hard to say whether these edifices were *stūpas*. The square bases of columns could be an alternative. The Apsidal Temple itself very possibly is non-Buddhist, according to Dr. P. Callieri who noted, in the discussion at the symposium, the buildings of similar plan that Prof. Herbert Härtel unearthed at Sonkh, Mathurā. In the Chir Tope monasteries and Kālawān, the *stūpa* chamber with a square room or porch in front, or a ground plan similar to the Apsidal Temple, were prevalent in the time of diaper masonry.

(8) Sq. 56.63'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 16. H. 5. 25 in. (approx. 13.3 cm).
(9) Sq. 56.63'. St. II. Pl. 149, b. H. 5. 25 in. (approx. 13.3 cm).
(10) Sq. 56.63'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 1; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xvii, c. H. 8.12 in. (approx. 20. 6 cm). (See Fig. 8.2: 3).
(11) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 7. H. 4.2 in. (approx.10.7 cm).
(12) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 8; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xviii, b. H. 4.5 in. (approx. 11.4 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 6).
(13) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 9; ASIAR 1912, Pl. xviii, e. H. 4.75 in. (approx. 12 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 9).
(14) Sq. 63. 62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 10. H. 3.75 in. (approx. 9.5 cm).
(15) Sq. 63. 62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 12. H. 5.5 in. (approx. 14 cm).
(16) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 13; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xvii, b. H. 6 in. (approx. 15 cm). (See Fig. 8.2: 2).
(17) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 148, no. 14; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xviii, a. H. 5.75 in. (approx. 14.6 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 5).
(18) Sq. 63.62'. St. II. Pl. 149, c; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xviii, d. H. 4.75 in. (approx. 12 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 8).
(19) Sq. 63.65'. St. II. Pl. 149, d; *ASIAR 1912*, Pl. xviii, f. H. 4 in. (approx. 10 cm). (See Fig. 8.3: 10).

The above horizontal find spots that Marshall refers to do not converge at the squares where the two "small stūpas" are located, but split into roughly two locations; one is just outside the northwestern corner of the apsidal building—i.e., Squares 54.60'–62', 55.62' and 56.63', and the other is away from the southwestern corner of that building but close to the inner side of the south enclosure wall (i.e., Squares 63.62' and 63.65'). The convergence at such specific places conflicts sharply with Marshall's belief that the stucco heads were all from in and around the "small stūpas."

Relative to these stucco heads discovered outside the temple building, similar finds described by Cunningham[12] and later interpreted by Marshall in 1951 require comment. They were discovered in what Cunningham called the "temple" and Marshall termed the "nave"—the square room to the west of the circular room. Inside the circular room, or Marshall's "apse," Cunningham found no stucco images. He "cleared out the room [nave], entirely for the purpose

[12] Alexander Cunningham, *Four Reports Made during the Years 1862–63–64–65*, Archaeological Survey of India 2, (Simla, 1871), 127–128.

of ascertaining its original purpose," and "from the numerous pieces of broken colossal figures in burnt clay" that he found, Cunningham concluded that the building had been an open temple containing colossal seated figures, similar to those that were seen all over Burma. He further noted other figures, excavated by Major Cracroft, namely two heads of a similar description. Cunningham alluded to "the numerous pieces of broken colossal figures" that were found in the nave. Cunningham, however, found in the "nave" only three heads, with the eyes wide open, and two right hands, one empty and the other holding drapery.

Cunningham interpreted the sculptures as colossi and made of burnt clay. Marshall paid no special attention to their sizes and had doubts about burnt clay, asserting that the clay was "accidentally converted into terracotta when the shrine was burnt out, as it was also in the case of the later terracotta figures in Jauliāñ."[13] Allchin referred to the figures as terracotta images of fairly large size.[14] However, that the figures were colossal is dubious. Cunningham recorded the length of one of the heads as 10.5 in. and the breadth across the four fingers of one of the hands as 6 in. The measured sizes of heads Marshall recovered are smaller than 13.5 in. (approx. 34 cm). The lengths of the stucco heads unearthed outside the apsidal building measure 34.0 cm. or less. As a group they should not necessarily be termed "colossal" or "fairly large," although a few heads are slightly more than life-size.

This analysis suggests that the stucco heads unearthed by Marshall at the two places outside the apsidal building are part of the same group found by Cunningham and Cracroft. I do not think it appropriate to identify Cunningham's burnt clay figures as terracottas, because no terracotta sculptures have been found decorating the walls of building or *stūpas* at such an early date in Taxila, Yusufzai, Swāt or Jalālābād. All the pieces excavated by Cracroft, Cunningham, and Marshall must have formed part of a sculptural unity that once adorned the inner face of the "nave," not the "small stūpas" in front of that huge building. The variety of sizes should be stressed, not the measurements themselves. This variety suggests that the statues

[13] Marshall, 1951, 152.

[14] F.R. Allchin, "Archaeology and the Date of Kaniṣka: the Taxila Evidence," *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham (Leiden, 1968): 17.

to which the heads belonged were not independent cult images fixed on the wall of the sacred precinct, but were members of a group of sculptures, possibly showing a narrative scene. The heads give no decisive clue that they are Buddhist. The convergence at two find locations and the fact that they are all heads except several architectural fragments imply a collective concealment or discarding intentionally in the last moments of the temple's life.

Masonry of the Apsidal Temple: Marshall's Terminology and Chronology

The stucco heads are not earlier than the stonework of the Apsidal Temple. The temple itself was built of diaper stonework on a raised platform constructed over the ruins of prior buildings. Marshall variously dated the ruins below the Apsidal Temple to be of the Pahlava epoch, or the Scytho-Parthian period, or the late Śaka period, or the Śaka-Parthian period.[15] The outer wall that surrounds the temple platform is, according to Marshall,[16] "built of diaper masonry of medium-sized boulders and is of somewhat irregular construction, . . . which appears to be transitional between the smaller and larger diaper styles."[17]

In the early excavation reports, Marshall chronologically interpreted "small diaper" masonry to be earlier and "large diaper" to have been popular later. But after his long experience of excavations at Taxila, he discarded this chronological sequence of masonries; in 1936 he took a reverse view, which was repeated in his final report in 1951.[18] As to the masonry of the apsidal building, he said

[15] Marshall's dating to the Pahlava epoch is seen *ASIAR 1912–13*, 23. His dating to the late Śaka period is in his final report (Marshall 1951, 150). As to his other dating to the Śaka (or Scytho)-Parthian time, see John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1936), 94–95; 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1960), 77.

[16] Marshall 1951, 150.

[17] *ASIAR 1912–13*, 23.

[18] Marshall stated his earlier view on the masonries in the Dharmarājkā *stūpa* court in *ASIAR 1912–13*, 12: "These small stūpas are constructed of rough rubble cores faced with square *kañjūr* blocks. . . . These chapels, as well as the walls flanking the gateways, are built in a very distinctive style of masonry known commonly as 'diaper patterned.' At the period of which I am speaking the diaper is characterized by the use of relatively small boulders and by the neatness of the piles of small stones in the interstices between them. This masonry is found in the chapels numbered B6, B12, B16, D9, and D6. . . . The small diaper masonry in turn gave place

in the final report[19] that from the ground level up, the walls were of "early diaper" masonry, the base mouldings being of *kañjūr*, all of which were originally faced with lime plaster. According to the fourth edition of *A Guide to Taxila*,[20] it is stated that "temple and courtyard alike are built of the diaper masonry introduced by the Parthians after the great earthquake." His "early diaper" here corresponds to the "large diaper" which he had before seen as a later variety.[21]

Marshall therefore seems to have thought that the main structures of the Apsidal Temple were built of the early variety of diaper masonry in Parthian time on the ruins of Śaka-Parthian buildings and that the outer wall surrounding the temple is even later. On the basis of his belief that the Parthians were responsible for the diaper masonry, the stucco heads are very generally datable to a time not later than the Parthian time. However, the architecture of the temple itself was not fully discussed in terms of chronology. It is especially doubtful whether the diaper masonry with which the Apsidal Temple was built is properly Indo-Parthian. Marshall's dating the heads and the later phases of Sirkap need reconsideration.[22]

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to a new type in which larger boulders were employed. This is the third distinct style of masonry employed on this site . . . well exemplified in the chambers B5, B4, D5 and D8. This later and coarser diaper style seems to have come into fashion at Taxila during the second century A.D. . . . The fourth type is characterized by the use of ashlar and diaper masonry combined, and appears to have come into vogue at the close of the second century A.D. It is used for the repair of the upper parts of the earlier chapels as well as in the construction of new ones, e.g., B1, B7, B4, B13, D12 and D6." His idea changed drastically, as seen in the third edition of *A Guide to Taxila* (1936, 45): "The earliest of these chapels which date from the first century A.D., are built in a very distinctive style of masonry known as 'diaper', which had probably been introduced by the Parthians from the North-West Frontier. At the period to which these chapels belong the diaper was characterized by the neatness of the piles of small stones in the interstices between the larger boulders. Among the many chapels in which examples of this masonry may be seen, are B6, D12, D9, D6, D5, R, S6 and S5. . . . This later masonry, the third distinctive variety employed on the site, is characterized by the use of ashlar and diaper masonry combined, and appears to have been in vogue in the third, fourth and fifth centuries A.D."

[19] Marshall 1951, 151.

[20] Marshall 1960, 78.

[21] Compare Marshall 1936, 45–46 with Marshall 1951, 248.

[22] When Marshall explained the masonry of the smaller subsidiary *stūpas* located in front of the main temple in the precinct of the Apsidal Temple, he did not employ his usual terminology, such as diaper masonry or rubble. Rather, he stated that the foundations of the two small *stūpas* consisted of heavy limestone blocks with smaller stones filling the interstices between them (Marshall, 1951, 154). He also

Early Diaper Masonry at Other Precincts in Taxila

Marshall referred to the different types of diaper masonry at a variety of other sites in Taxila. He said that at the *stūpa* court of Kālawān "in the main, three different classes of masonry are represented."[23] The earliest of the three masonries is a "small diaper" masonry similar to that found in Dharmarājikā structure G5 and other contemporary buildings in the court of *stūpas*. To illustrate the examples of "other contemporary buildings," he cited Plate 55, no. 2 in the final report of 1951, labeled as shrine G6, the antechamber to G5. Marshall's reference in the final report to small diaper stonework in the chapter of Kālawān probably was based on his 1936 interpretations.

Marshall noted that at Kālawān "a later and rougher type of diaper masonry of a somewhat nondescript character followed the small diaper and relatively thick stones are freely used for filling up the interstices between boulders."[24] As for "small diaper," he admitted that "the small stones in the interstices between the bigger boulders are not very thin, and a definite suggestion of courses is given by the clearly marked horizontal lines of small stones which seem to be preparing the way, as it were, for the semi-ashlar style which was to come later." From these statements one can understand that Marshall now placed the "small diaper" masonry at the end of the diaper stage at a time when semi-ashlar was just developing through "a later and rougher type of diaper masonry of a somewhat nondescript character." According to him, "This type of diaper masonry [i.e., small diaper] is readily distinguishable from earlier types of Parthian times which is found, for example, in the apsidal temple

alluded to the discovery of "*kañjūr* blocks," which came from "the enveloping debris of the stūpas" as "used in the face of the structures" (*ASIAR 1912–13*, 23). As for the "*kañjūr* blocks," he did not say that they were modeled into either torus and scotia mouldings or pilasters, but only that they were "used in the face of the structures." He may have not been in a position to speak definitely about the masonry, because only the lowest stone course of the foundation remained. However, his descriptions of "*kañjūr* blocks" and "large limestone blocks with smaller stones filling the interstices between them" suggest that the small *stūpas* were faced with diaper masonry similar to that used at the Apsidal Temple, which was supported by a foot moulding carved out of *kañjūr* blocks.

[23] Marshall 1951, 322.

[24] Marshall 1951, 323.

in Sirkap."[25] Thus, the Apsidal Temple was built of the early type of this stonework, much earlier than the "small diaper."

According to Marshall, the diaper masonry in close affinity to that employed in the Apsidal Temple also exists at Dharmarājikā structures such as I3, D5, B9, P1, and L (Fig. 8.4). Stūpa P1 is "a solid structure of large diaper masonry of a noticeably regular pattern" (Fig. 8.6). All that is left of building L are the walls of a podium built of "diaper masonry of the larger variety."[26] *Stūpa* shrine I3 is also built of "the same variety of large diaper masonry" as that used in building L.[27] However, he dated this large variety of diaper masonry to early Kuṣāṇa times—probably the end of the first century A.D. according to Marshall's Kuṣāṇa chronology (Table 3).[28] Elsewhere, he ascribed the introduction of diaper masonry to the Parthians. Dating "large diaper" masonry to his own Kuṣāṇa chronology also conflicts with Marshall's dating of small diaper as a later variety that was used in the last decades of the first century A.D. Despite many inconsistencies among Marshall's views, the "large diaper" masonry must be much earlier than the last decades of the first century A.D.

As Marshall noted,[29] structure D5 is also built of "early diaper" masonry (Figs. 8.5 and 8.7). This is a structure later incorporated into the space between stūpas D2 and D3 along the circumambulatory path at the Dharmarājikā main *stūpa*. D2 consists of a drum faced with *kañjūr* ashlar with a torus-scotia moulding below it, that is supported by rubble work and mud, and encased in rubble-masonry walls (Fig. 8.5). D3 is a *stūpa* with a drum of *kañjūr* ashlar, which sits on a podium also faced with *kañjūr* ashlar and is decorated with slender pilasters. Both structures are one step earlier than the diaper masonry, because they are covered partly by shrine D5 (Fig. 8.7).

Marshall explained that shrine D5 "already shows a tendency on the part of the masons to lay the boulders in more regular horizontal courses," which eventually led to the semi-ashlar masonry. If Marshall's observation were right, the "early diaper" masonry used at shrine D5 must have been fabricated late in the diaper stage, because Marshall thought that laying the boulders in more regular

[25] Marshall 1960, 130.
[26] Marshall 1951, 251.
[27] Marshall 1951, 254.
[28] Marshall 1951, 254–55. Refer to a chronological chart in Marshall 1951, 85.
[29] Marshall 1951, 260.

horizontal courses was a later development. Even if this is not directly followed by the more developed semi-ashlar masonry, the practice of setting boulders more horizontally is a key to establishing a typological sequence for diaper masonry.

The diaper masonry in Pl. 55 in Marshall's final report shows a trend toward placing boulders in more regular horizontal courses. Marshall seems to have taken the walls of shrine B9 (Fig. 8.8) and *stūpa* shrine I3 as the beginning of the early diaper work. He alluded to the wall of shrine B9 as "a characteristic wall of early diaper" and that of I3 as "early fine diaper." In this case the word "fine" might not convey any archaeological implication. Shrine B9 represents a wall built mainly of "very large limestone blocks with a filling in the interstices between them with the small thinner chips." A striking contrast exists in size of stones between the boulders and interstitial stones.

In comparison with the Apsidal Temple masonry (Fig. 8.9), *stūpa* P1 shows a significant difference from the above early monuments B9, I3, and D5 (Figs. 8.6 and 8.7). The boulders of P1 were chiseled even on the lower side and were laid in more horizontal courses. It is this kind of facing at P1 that shows preparation for the succeeding coursed masonry, which eventually culminated in finely chiseled ashlar block layers of semi-ashlar masonry. Marshall's 1951 term of "early diaper," used as facing for walls, can be summarized as stonework with large heavy limestone blocks laid in more or less horizontal courses, and very small flat stones neatly filling the interstices between the boulders. This masonry pattern roughly covers at least two chronological subtypes: the earlier type includes D5, I3, B9, L and Apsidal Temple, while the *stūpa* P1's masonry represents a type produced a bit later than these monuments.

Dating the Diaper Masonry

The main stūpa precinct of the Dharmarājikā suggests a dating for the diaper masonry. Since the early diaper shrine D5 covers the staircase and the rubble-faced podium of stūpa D2 standing on the *kañjūr*-faced square podium of stūpa D3 (Figs. 8.5 and 8.7), the *terminus post quem* for the "early diaper" *stūpas* would, therefore, theoretically be indicated by the date of structures faced with *kañjūr* blocks or rubbles in the Dharmarājikā. In Sirkap other examples of these

masonries include the edifices in Block 1A (Figs. 8.11 and 8.12), 1Ea, 1F (Fig. 8.13), and 1G (Fig. 8.14), while *stūpas* S8, R4, D3, T12, and No. 4 are of the same kind in the Dharmarājikā.

Evidence for the Upper and Lower Limits

In the Dharmarājikā, the *terminus post quem* for diaper masonry is given by stūpas S8 and R4, which are faced with either rubble or *kañjūr*. S8 contained four coins of Maues and Azes I, and R4 contained one coin of Azes I (Table 1). They do not contain coins issued after the time of Azes I. In a globular casket of gray schist placed in the relic chamber of *stūpa* No. 4, located to the north of the main *stūpa* area of the Dharmarājikā, were silver coins of Augustus Caesar and Azilises; these are markers for dating the Dharmarājikā *stūpas* faced with *kañjūr* blocks.[30] *Stūpa* No. 4 could not have existed before 28 B.C.

According to Marshall, the semi-ashlar masonry replaced the small diaper through a "later and rougher type of diaper masonry of a somewhat nondescript character." This means that he found some types that were difficult to classify as the later variety of diaper masonry or as a more developed masonry, namely semi-ashlar. Even taking into account such intermediary types, the semi-ashlar masonry gives us clues about the *terminus ante quem* of the diaper masonry. The date can be estimated by the coins from the relic chambers of relevant stūpas.

Several small *stūpas* in the Dharmarājikā were constructed in semi-ashlar masonry. *Stūpa* K3 contained a small earthenware vase with three copper coins of Kaniṣka.[31] The podium of K3 is supported by a foundation of semi-ashlar masonry. *Stūpa* P6 contained another earthenware vase with ten copper coins. Three coins of Huviṣka and three of Vāsudeva were found above the relic casket; three of Vāsudeva inside it; and one of Vāsudeva below it.[32] In *stūpa* N11, a pot of plain red earthenware contained 15 Sasanian coins of Shapur II (A.D. 309–379).[33] Further, in the narrow space between shrine P7

[30] Marshall 1951, 277.
[31] Marshall 1951, 263.
[32] Marshall 1951, 263.
[33] The height of this pot is described as 1.2 in. by Marshall (1951, 270), but it should be 1 ft 1 and 7/8 in. (35.2425 cm), as stated in *ASIAR 1914–15*, 8.

and *stūpa* P10, a Gandhāran relief was found, and a little lower was a small earthenware pot that contained five debased gold coins "of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas and other tiny gold objects."[34] *Stūpas* P6, N11, and the space between P7 and P10 contained the coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers after Kaniṣka.

The "small diaper" is a late variety of diaper masonry. Particularly important for dating the *stūpas* faced with this masonry is a shrine-like room of modest size called G, to the west of the main *stūpa* at the Dharmarājikā. Near the back wall and about 30 cm below the original floor was a relic casket of gray micaceous schist with a silver vase inside. The vase contained an inscribed silver scroll and a gold casket with some minute bone relics. The silver scroll is inscribed with Kharoṣṭhī characters that tell about enshrining the bone relics (*dhātu*) of Bhāgavata in the year 136 of the Azes era, or A.D. 78/79.[35] Further evidence for dating "small diaper" masonry to this same decade of the first century A.D. comes from Kālawān. Marshall noted that small diaper masonry was used to construct *stūpas* A4 and A14 and *stūpa* shrine A1, the earliest monuments at the site.[36] In the relic chamber of the small circular *stūpa* in the rear circular room of A1 was a small *stūpa*-shaped schist casket covered with gold

[34] Marshall, 1951, 267. The Gandhāran relief mentioned here is a fragment depicting the monkey offering honey to the Buddha and illustrated in Marshall 1951, Pl. 221, no. 125.

[35] Marshall, 1951, 256–57. Mention should be made of a Kharōṣṭhī inscription around the neck of a silver vase in a hoard of gold and silver objects from beneath the floor of a room of House 2D (7 ft 6 in., or 228.6 cm, below the surface) against the outer wall of Apsidal Temple (Square 58.47'. See Marshall 1951, 155–156). Marshall read in the inscription Year 191, but he considered the vase to be of the early Śaka era, which would make the year A.D. 36. Elsewhere, he favored the Azes era, which would place Year 191 in A.D. 133. Semi-ashlar masonry could have already been introduced in the time of Kaniṣka. If so, a calculation of the Azes era does not fit well with the date for diaper masonry. In the symposium, Prof. Richard Salomon pointed out that the digits might indicate the weight of this silver vase. His alternative reading may clear up Marshall's forced interpretation. In any case, a question remains as to whether the hoard was buried before or after the construction of House 2D.

[36] See Marshall, 1951, 326. As for *stūpa* A12, one of the main *stūpas* at Kālawān, the stonework of the southwest side of the staircase is, according to my observation in 1963 and 1980, not as simple as Marshall's description, namely small diaper faced with *kañjūr* and finished with lime plaster would indicate. Deciphering the stonework at the Kālawān *stūpa* court requires a new detailed investigation at the site itself. But a military road with barbed wire has long restricted our access to the site.

leaf.[37] Next to it was found a copper plate with an inscription, engraved in Kharoṣṭhī characters, that tells of the establishment of relics in the *stūpa* shrine in the year 134 of Azes, or A.D. 76.[38]

Taking these facts together, the diaper masonry did appear after the time of Azes II with its early, large diaper type. The first appearance was roughly after the first quarter of the first century A.D. This stonework changed itself into a later variety, which is called "small diaper" by Marshall, in the last quarter of that century, as the Kālāwān copper plate gives a date to that masonry. However, Marshall's "small diaper" and its more degenerate, "nondescript" type were not used in the time of Kaniṣka. As the coin deposits in the relic chambers in the Dharmarājikā imply, a more stable variety of diaper masonry, called by Marshall "semi-ashlar," had already been popular in those days. This argument further leads to a possible chronological framework on the accession date of Kaniṣka. It was very much later than the end of the seventies of the first century. Dating his accession to A.D. 78 does not make sense from this viewpoint.[39]

Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises: Association of Coins in the Relic Chamber

Two groups of coins were unearthed in the compound where the apsidal building stood in Block 1D.[40] One group, comprising one coin of Azes II and three of Kujūla Kadphises, is in the debris of Sq. 57.66' between the two "small stūpas" and in front of the staircase; the other, including seven copper coins of Azes II and one of Kujūla Kadphises, is at the southwestern corner of the apsidal building in Sq. 60.62'. The same numismatic combination was also found in Sq. 73.96', associated with the *stūpa* in Block 1E':[41] a spherical casket of schist contained one coin of Azes II and two of Kujūla Kadphises.[42] Of *stūpa* 1E' only a high square podium is left, constructed

[37] Marshall 1951, Pl. 80, g.
[38] Marshall 1951, 327.
[39] A recent reassessment of the hitherto neglected date, A.D. 127, of Kaniṣka I is an eye-opener. See A.D.H. Bivar, "A Current Position on Some Central and South Asian Chronologies," *Bulletin of the Asian Institute*, New Series 14 (2000): 69–75.
[40] Marshall 1951, 155.
[41] The *stūpa* in Block 1E' is hereafter called *stūpa* 1E'.
[42] Marshall 1951, 185.

partly of rubble and partly of diaper masonry, protected on the outside by a thick coating of lime stucco (Fig. 8.10). The internal structure consists of thick walls arranged both crosswise and diagonally, the spaces between them being filled with stone debris.[43] This somewhat unusual plan for a foundation, designed to provide for the weight of a circular *stūpa* drum, is closely related to the appearance of wheel-shaped structure in the Northwest during the time of Kujūla Kadphises, reflecting the popularity in the first century of Āndhra architectural technology that facilitated the construction of loftier circular podiums.[44]

The Sirkap "early diaper" monuments are thus closely related to the coins issued by Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises, although Dharmarājikā *stūpa* N7, of "early diaper" masonry, is associated only with Azes II.[45] The coins unearthed in the Apsidal Temple and Sirkap *stūpa* 1E', all constructed in a early, large variety of diaper masonry, were buried in and after the reign of Kujūla Kadphises, long before a time of "small diaper" masonry in the last quarter of the first century A.D. We should give special consideration to the coins of the last king of the Śakas, and the first king of the Kuṣāṇas in particular. As Allchin and Erdosy rightly pointed out,[46] the abundant coins of these two rulers are found in the occupation layers of Stratum II–III of Sirkap, not only in the relic chambers. The frequency of such coins in relic chambers reflects a trend in the contemporary secular world. Chronologically speaking, the "early diaper" of the apsidal building indicates that the temple belonged to the early years of that masonry, built in or after the time of Kujūla Kadphises. Therefore, the stucco heads found in two groups at the periphery of the building are ascribed to some time in and after the time of Kujūla Kadphises. His reign is roughly datable to the earlier half of the first century, or a decade later than that.[47]

[43] Marshall 1951, 183.

[44] Kuwayama 1997a.

[45] Marshall, 1951, 245.

[46] Allchin, 1968: 12–13. George Erdosy, "Taxila: Political History and Urban Structure," *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, 2 vols., ed. Maurizio Taddei (Rome, 1990): 662–670.

[47] If a "Guṣaṇa maharaya" in the Panjtar inscription is rightly identical to Kujūla as Konow interpreted, the reign of Kujūla possibly continued up to the year 122 of the Azes era, A.D. 65. See Konow, Sten, ed., *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 2, part 1, (Calcutta 1929), 67–70.

Kañjūr Ashlar and Diaper Masonry in early Dharmarājikā and late Sirkap

The 1A *stūpa* (Figs. 8.11 and 8.12) at Sirkap contains one copper coin of Apollodotus II and three coins of Azes II, together with a bone relic and other minor objects, in a square chamber framed by *kañjūr* blocks placed in the center of a square podium.[48] Marshall thought that the coin of Apollodotus II was taken from some older monument and re-deposited in stūpa 1A together with the Azes II coin. This is quite possible, considering that the other *stūpas* faced with *kañjūr* blocks in Sirkap did not contain coins as early as Apollodotus II.

Kañjūr stūpas from Sirkap typically contain coins of Azes II or Kujūla Kadphises. Found in the relic chamber of the *stūpa* of Block 1G was a casket of gray schist, decorated with petals on the body and lid, which contained eight coins of Azes II.[49] The relic chamber of the *stūpa* in Block 1F at Sirkap did not contain any coins. It seems that its contents had already been dispersed before Marshall arrived. However, one copper coin of Azes II and one of Kujūla Kadphises were collected near this *stūpa* (Table 1).[50]

In relation to the relic casket from Sirkap *stūpa* 1G, Marshall stated that another reliquary with similar shape and decoration was found one foot northeast of structure G5 at the Dharmarājikā. It was found in the debris of *stūpa* T12, which was also faced with *kañjūr* ashlar. The casket contained a copper coin of Kujūla Kadphises. It is important to recall that just southwest of *stūpa* T12 is structure G5, built in small diaper masonry, that can be dated on the basis of the silver scroll inscription to the year 136, or A.D. 78, as noted above.[51]

Dharmarājikā *stūpas* faced with rubble or *kañjūr* ashlar, such as S8, R4, and No. 4, on the other hand, do not contain any coins after Azes II. No evidence is found in the Dharmarājikā for the

But the alternative for this "maharaya" is Soter Megas. See Mac Dowall, D.W., "The Development of Buddhist Symbolism on the Coinages of the North West," *Investigating India Art*, *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst* 8, eds. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin, 1987), 179–190.

[48] Marshall, 1951, 143–144.

[49] Marshall assigned the coins from *stūpa* 1G to those of Azes I, but later Jenkins rightly attributed them to those of Azes II. See G.K. Jenkins, "Indo-Scythic Mints," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 17, no. 2 (1955): 1–26.

[50] These coins were found in Square 83.65', in the next Square to which is the northeast corner of the 1F stūpa.

[51] Marshall 1951, 258. Marshall believed that the casket was originally in the relic chamber of T12.

numismatic association of Azes II with Kujūla Kadphises which is usual in the early diaper and *kañjūr* stūpas at Sirkap. A square copper coin of Azes I beside the gray schist relic casket was recovered inside *stūpa* R4,[52] although only the *stūpa*'s lower part of the drum and a square podium faced with squared *kañjūr* blocks of various sizes are left. In *stūpa* S8, in the same area of the Dharmarājikā, four copper coins of Maues and Azes I were found with a casket of gray schist inside a relic chamber constructed of *kañjūr* blocks.

The only remains of *stūpa* No. 4 of small dimension, in a court to the north of the main Dharmarājikā *stūpa* area, is a square podium faced with *kañjūr* blocks. Marshall described it as having a "stepped approach projecting about 10 ft. from the south side." The podium was decorated with a "torus and scotia base moulding supporting four pilasters on the east, west and north sides." A small receptacle hollowed in the middle of a "square *kañjūr* block" was placed "in the center of the podium immediately below its foundation." In this receptacle, together with a tiny gold casket containing bone relics, was a silver coin of Azilises, the type showing a "mounted king and standing Dioscuri," as Marshall stated, and a Roman silver denarius of Augustus struck in Lugdunum in A.D. 11–13, along with other objects.[53] Thus, in the Dharmarājikā, no early *stūpa* faced with *kañjūr* ashlar or rubble contains coins postdating Azilises or the First Roman emperor.

At the Dharmarājikā are some *stūpas* similar in design and masonry to R4 and S8: D1, D2, D3, S9, B3, D10, D13, B20, one between B4 and B7, and another between B16 and B17. Among them, D2 seems to have originally been supported by another earlier square podium so small that the length of a side hardly differs from the diameter of the drum built of chiseled *kañjūr* blocks (Fig. 8.15). Whatever D2 may have been originally, it is clear that an earlier square podium was enlarged on all four sides with an encasement of limestone rubble walls faced with the same masonry. The newer structure is decorated at the bottom with the mouldings carved out

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[52] Marshall 1951, 241.

[53] Marshall 1951, 277. According to Mac Dowall, the coin of Azilises is dated to A.D. 11–13, while the coin of Augustus is identified with that issued in Lugdunum (Lyon) in A.D. 11–12. He suggests a *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 20–30 for the date of the deposit of stūpa No. 4. David W. Mac Dowall, "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kaniṣka," *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham (Leiden 1968), 141.

of *kañjūr* blocks. The space between the new and original structures was filled with compact soil and rubble up to the lowest level of the drum, which was still standing and had a facing of irregularly shaped *kañjūr* blocks. Rubble work was still popular in this area long after *kañjūr* ashlar was applied to the drum. A simple staircase is attached on the northwest side of the encasement. Thus, D2 became a real *stūpa* after being reshaped.

A shrine of modest size, D5, was found lying on the staircase of D2. D5 is one of the structures of early diaper masonry (figs. 8.5 and 8.7). D2 had certainly ceased to be in use before D5 was built. This superposition indicates that in the Dharmarājikā the rubble and *kañjūr* ashlar *stūpas* had fallen into ruin before diaper-masonry structures were built. The sizable podium of D1 must have been built in the same way as D2. The original drum is also *kañjūr* blocks. The use of *kañjūr* ashlar did not always postdate rubble walls; rather, they were contemporary (Table 2).

The coins of Azes II and/or Kujūla Kadphises were buried in the early diaper *stūpas* in the Dharmarājikā and Sirkap. However, the Dharmarājikā *kañjūr stūpas* do not contain such associations, only depositing the coins before Azes II, such as those of Maues, Azes I and Azilises. Taking this fact into account, the Dharmarājikā *kañjūr stūpas* clearly predate the early diaper structures; the Sirkap *kañjūr stūpas* probably postdate those of the same masonry in the Dharmarājikā, but coexisted in Sirkap with the constructions built with diaper masonry. These few examples are still sufficiently impressive, although they may not make a complete picture (Tables 1 and 2).

Vertical Location of the Relic Chamber

The vertical location of the relic chamber evidently indicates that *kañjūr* ashlar and rubble masonries of the Dharmarājika predate those of Sirkap. In Sirkap, a square chamber framed by *kañjūr* blocks was placed in the center of the square podium of *stūpa* 1A. Marshall referred to the depth as about 3 ft 9 in. (114.3 cm) below the upper surface of the podium, probably just below the floor level of the *stūpa* court.[54] In the Sirkap 1G *stūpa*, a small relic chamber of *kañjūr*

[54] Marshall 1951, 143.

blocks covered with lime plaster, where the eight coins of Azes II were found, is located at a depth of 4 ft (121.92 cm) from the "top" and in the center of the square podium. Again, as was the case with *stūpa* 1A, the vertical location suggests that the chamber was found just above or below the ground level, not at a level deep below the lowest portion of *stūpa*, or the surrounding circumambulatory path. In this case, the "top" would not seem to make sense from modern archaeological viewpoint, but "a depth of 4 ft from the top" simply suggests that the relic chamber does not go deep into the present ground at *stūpa* 1A, comparing the depth with the height of the extant square podium. Another example of placement of the relic chamber within the podium is the relic chamber of *stūpa* 1F in Sirkap, located at a depth of 3 ft 2 in. (96.56 cm) below the top of the *stūpa* in the center of the podium; it does not contain any coins, however.

The picture is quite different at the Dharmarājikā. The *stūpa* R4 relic casket of gray schist, together with a square copper coin of Azes I, was found at a depth of 9 ft (274.32 cm) from the top—i.e., about 5 ft (152.4 cm) below ground level. The relic chamber of *stūpa* S8, constructed of *kañjūr* blocks, is at a depth of 6 ft (182.88 cm) below the top. This *stūpa* "consists of a square podium and circular drum, built of rough rubble with a torus moulding of *kañjūr* near the base" of the circular drum.[55] A small receptacle, hollowed in the middle of the square *kañjūr* block, was formed in the center of the podium "immediately below its foundation."[56] At *stūpa* B6 the relic deposit was at a depth of 13 ft, or 3.9 m, below the existing top of the *stūpa*.[57] No relic chamber was fabricated in the B3 *stūpa*, but a casket was placed at a depth of 5 ft, or 1.5 m, below the base.[58]

In Sirkap, the relic chambers were not placed so deep; many were inside the podium itself or close to the level of the surrounding ground at the lowest. On the other hand, at the early Dharmarājikā,

[55] Marshall 1951, 241.
[56] Marshall 1951, 277. Marshall did not mention the depth of relic chambers in *stūpa* S9.
[57] Marshall 1951, 242.
[58] Marshall 1951, 243–244. The circular base of B3 was enlarged much later with the circular plinth. Both the original fabric and the later addition are faced with *kañjūr* stone.

they were apparently far below the square podium. They were not placed in the podium itself or at ground level, as was the case at Sirkap. In terms of the *kañjūr*-faced *stūpas*, the Dharmarājikā and Sirkap relic chambers are at different vertical locations, and the dates of the coins deposited are different from each other. The *kañjūr*-faced *stūpas* therefore can be split into two geographical and chronological groups: the Dharmarājikā group, which is earlier than the Sirkap group. There might have been a custom in the earlier time of placing relic chambers far below the ground level along the central axis of the *stūpa*. This means that in the Dharmarājikā, the relics were buried before construction work began, and the building site for a *stūpa* could not be shifted after the relics were buried. Therefore, special caution must have been taken for the selection of appropriate locations for *stūpas*. Also, relics could not be taken out without destroying the *stūpa*. At Sirkap, on the other hand, in a later period, the relic chamber occupied a position more or less within the square podium just above or below the ground level. The placement of relic chambers at higher levels in Sirkap may have come from the difficulty of finding a proper place to lay relics below the ground level, where the ruins of previous occupations existed. If so, placing the relic chambers at the Dharmarājikā far deeper below the ground level suggests that no monument exists below the *stūpas* faced with *kañjūr* ashlar in the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* court. They are the earliest among the edifices surrounding the main central *stūpa*.

If the pattern of *stūpa* deposits described above is accepted, *stūpa* No. 4, in the north of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* court, which concealed the relics immediately below its foundation may be later than the other *kañjūr*-faced *stūpas* in the Dharmarājikā. The relic chamber of *stūpa* J2 at the Dharmarājikā is 2 ft, or about 61 cm, above the floor level and in the center of the structure,[59] suggesting that it might be much later than Marshall conceived. Initially he believed that this *stūpa* postdated the Parthian period,[60] but later he placed it in the same category as the *stūpas* faced with *kañjūr* blocks, which, according to him, belong to the Parthian period. Outwardly, this *stūpa* looks much later than the usual *kañjūr*-faced *stūpas*.

[59] Marshall 1951, 244–245.
[60] *ASIAR 1914–15*, 8.

Conclusions

1. No coin before Azes II came out of the Sirkap 1A and 1G *stūpas* except for one coin of Apollodotus II (Table 1). This gives us reason to date these *stūpas* with a *kañjūr* facing in Sirkap to some time in or after the reign of Azes II. Other Sirkap *stūpas* in Block 1F and 1E', related to the finds of coins issued by Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises, certainly were built after the reign of Kujūla Kadphises. The main *stūpas* in Blocks 1F, 1G, and 1A were faced with *kañjūr* ashlar. The Apsidal Temple of early diaper masonry also belongs to this latter group, according to coin finds. The cult edifices in Marshall's Stratum II of Sirkap, regardless of their masonry, are thus not earlier than Azes II-Kujūla Kadphises (Table 2).

In Sirkap, *stūpas* 1A and 1G lack the Kujūla Kadphises coins, whereas the *stūpas* in Blocks 1F and 1E' and the Apsidal Temple contained the coins of both Kujūla Kadphises and Azes II. Whether the lack of the Kujūla coin in the *stūpas* 1A and 1G reflects their anteriority to the others is hard to say from the numismatic viewpoint; the outward appearance of *stūpas* 1G and 1F shows no essential, typological difference. The *stūpas* and the Apsidal Temple in Sirkap may be roughly contemporaneous. The Dharmarājikā *kañjūr* edifices such as S8, R4, and No. 4 are evidently earlier than all those in Sirkap, if based on coin evidence at both Sirkap and Dharmarājikā.

2. Sirkap sanctuaries from Marshall's Stratum II had access only from the main street. No other city site embraced so many sacred edifices. Why did only Sirkap allow such a large number of independent sanctuaries inside the city despite the presence nearby of the Dharmarājikā?

Houses of Marshall's Stratum II were built of rubble or coursed rubble in most cases. The use of the diaper masonry in Sirkap is restricted to the entire Apsidal Temple in Block 1D, parts of *stūpa* foundations in Block 1E', and some big houses such as that in Block 2F.[61] Only a few buildings were partly or entirely made with this stonework. Diaper masonry was least prevalent in the last phases of Sirkap. Wheeler's trench did not reveal any structure of diaper masonry.[62] Furthermore, the diaper masonry used for Apsidal Temple

[61] Marshall, 1951, 166.
[62] Ghosh, 1948

is well developed and does not seem to have been a trial enterprise at its earliest stage. On the other hand, this temple covers a huge area, larger than the usual size of one block of the town, and was built on the ruins of previous rubble buildings. Why would such a huge temple have been built within the city?

Perhaps Sirkap as a city ended with structures built with rubble masonry, and after the population had moved to Sirsukh or elsewhere, the site of Sirkap survived only for cult activities as exemplified by the Apsidal Temple in Block 1D. This may also have been the case for other sacred areas, such as 1A, 1F, 1G, 1C', and 1E', because all of them had reliquary deposits of the coins of Azes II or Kujūla Kadphises, or both. Allchin suggested that the continued occupation of Sirkap may be linked with the cult of *stūpas* and other shrines constructed there at an early date.[63] Yet my impression is that the religious monuments were built after the final urban phase, or more possibly after the city was abandoned. As Sirkap's geographical proximity to the Dharmarājikā monasteries imply, Sirkap only allowed non-Buddhists to have their sanctuaries there, while the Dharmarājikā was for Buddhists.

3. Allchin in the same article also noted the abundance in Sirkap of coins of both Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises when compared to the paucity of coins of Gondophares. Sirkap *stūpas* lack the coins of Gondophares. A significant time gap does not seem to have existed in Taxila between Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises. It is usually accepted, following Marshall, that within the city walls of Sirkap constructed with rubble masonry,[64] remains of four superimposed occupations show the successive use of the city up to the time of the Parthian Gondophares. Allchin says that use continued up to Vīma Kadphises or Kaniṣka, while Erdosy even refers to Huviṣka as the ruler of the latest phase of Sirkap.[65] The "small diaper," which was popular in A.D. 76–78, did not appear in Sirkap. Sirkap as a populated city ended before these dates, probably in the time of Kujūla Kadphises or in the middle of the first century A.D.

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[63] Allchin, 1968, 14.

[64] Ghosh 1948. F.R. Allchin, "The Urban Position of Taxila and Its Place in the Northwest," in *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*, eds. Howard Spodek and Doris Meth Srinivasan (Washington, 1993), 75–77. Gérard Fussman, "Taxila: The Central Asian Connection," in Spodek and Srinivcasan, eds. 1993, 89–96.

[65] Allchin 1968, 78. Erdosy, 1990: 668–670.

However, all of four superimposed occupations within the Sirkap fortification would have covered a rather brief period, from Azes I through Azes II to Kujūla, if the initial construction of the fortification really was in the time of Azes I, or even if much earlier. The section of the north wall of a trench dug by Wheeler and his trainee archaeologists in the Taxila school shows the fifteen layers in all which were deposited above the natural soil. The depth of the entire layers only measures two to three meters and, moreover, the real occupational phases start after the first two or three layers on the natural soil.[66] The overall layers are rather thin. The city life may have been shorter than supposed. In the light of this interpretation the four phases after the construction of the stone city walls might not necessarily be accepted as representing four successive, different periods, as Marshall and Wheeler postulated. Wheeler may have mechanically interpreted the layers, not to be inconsistent with Marshall's four strata. Houses could have been multi-storied, many having underground rooms, as Marshall says. The remains of the city site seem to have been used exclusively for the cult of *stūpa* and other religious performance.

There is a clear difference, incidentally, between the early, large diaper masonry of the Apsidal Temple and the stonework of the fortification walls of Sirsukh, a city site following Sirkap. Whether early Sirsukh city was built with early diaper masonry is undetermined. If so, the existing fortification could not be traced back to the city's initial phases.

4. Whether the first occupation (Marshall's Stratum IV or Wheeler's Phase I) within the city walls of Sirkap accompanied religious, or more specifically, Buddhist precincts is quite unclear because of the difficulty of extensive digging in deeper layers. There is no positive evidence for Buddhist edifices before Marshall's Stratum II, where stūpas 1A, 1G, 1F, and the Apsidal Temple were standing. In the Dharmarājikā, on the other hand, the first renovation in and around the main *stūpa* before the time of Azes II, or maybe in the time of Azes I, saw the construction of smaller *stūpas*, S8 and R4, faced with *kañjūr* ashlars. This phase of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* court is therefore taken as contemporary with the construction of the city walls

[66] Ghosh 1948, Pl. IX.

of Sirkap, if we accept Marshall and Wheeler who dated it to the time of Azes I. In the Dharmarājikā, such *kañjūr stūpas* had lasted for a long time, with some modifications, until the cells of shrines were built over them with diaper masonry. The *kañjūr* monuments here are datable to the time after Azes I and before Kujūla Kadphises. This time frame, the later half of the first century B.C. and the early half of the first century A.D. may roughly correspond to the entire city life inside the city walls of Sirkap.

5. In the Dharmarājikā court of *stūpas*, the new construction work was done with diaper masonry directly on the leveled ruins of *stūpas* built of *kañjūr* ashlar around the main, large *stūpa*. The new enterprise indicates that the diaper builders deemed previous *stūpas* as utterly useless and leveled them; most of new edifices around the main *stūpa* were the cells of shrines.

Usually each shrine consists of a single rectangular cell with a doorway on a longer side to face the main central *stūpa*. No evidence is left of a shrine having enshrined a *stūpa* or having contained relics. There are many good examples for *stūpa* shrines, earlier or later: I3 of the Dharmarālikā consists of two rooms, the rear room housing a small circular *stūpa*; in Chir Top, the monasteries contained shrines, the ground plan of which were essentially the same as I3, and a small *stūpa* stood in the center of the rear room; the Kālāwān monastery of later diaper masonry also contained shrines of the same kind as the above examples. New construction of such shrine type, however, did not last longer than the time of diaper masonry and ceased before the arrival of semi-ashlar stonework. In the time of diaper masonry there were two types of shrines, one being single-roomed and the other with double cells. Considering their coexistence and taking the double-celled shrine for *stūpa* cult, the single room type allows for a hypothesis that it was a new device for carved images which came into being in the time of diaper masonry.[67]

Thus, the shrines in diaper masonry represent a new Buddhist era. The religious atmosphere they might have created in the sacred precinct was quite different from that in the previous stage. In the time of diaper masonry, the dome and the drum of the main

[67] Behrendt recently discussed the two-celled shrine. Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, (Leiden, 2004), 61–76.

Dharmarājikā *stūpa* were also reshaped, strengthened internally with sixteen walls radiating from a huge solid hub structure of rough rubble limestone and externally faced with diaper work. The diaper masonry was first introduced with its earliest outward appearance of "the early, fine, large diaper" probably in the time of Kujūla Kadphises. This was not simply a technical adoption of a new masonry. It really heralded the subsequent, mature stages of the Buddhist temple in Taxila and other Buddhist spheres. The sculpted images enshrined in the single-celled shrines strangely are not extant any longer. Although a group of stucco heads from the court of the Apsidal Temple built in the same early diaper masonry are not always Buddhist, they make us imagine what the stucco statues in the Buddhist single-celled shrines looked like. Allchin says, "The comparison with the early Mathurā school and with the western (mainly Roman) prototypes of several pieces clearly suggests a base for the Gandharan style as a whole."[68]

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[68] Allchin 1968, 17–18.

Illustrations

Table 1 - Coins and Masonries Related to the Stūpas at Sirkap and Dharmarājikā

				Augustus (AD 11-13)							*Shapur II (309–379)*		
SITE/STŪPA	MASONRY	Apollodotus/	Maues-	Azes-	Azilises-	Azes II /	Kujūla-	Kaniṣka (AD127)-	Huviṣka-	Vāsudeva/		Kidāra	
Mohra Marialān	Rubble			12									
Dharmarājikā S8	Rubble		4	4									Outside a casket in the relic chamber.
Dharmarājikā R4	Kañjūr			1									Outside a casket in the relic chamber.
Dharmarājikā no. 4	Kañjūr			*1*	1								In the globular casket of grey schist.
Sirkap 1A	Kañjūr	1				3							In the relic chamber.
Sirkap 1G	Kañjūr					8							Outside a casket in the relic chamber.
Dharmarājikā N7	Early Diaper					1							Beneath a crystal lion in the relic chamber.
Sirkap 1D	Early Diaper					7	1						Found in Sq. 60. 62'.
Sirkap 1D	Early Diaper					1	3						Found in Sq. 57. 66'.
Sirkap 1E'	Rubble/Diaper					1	2						From a spherical schist casket : Sq. 73. 96'.
Sirkap 1F	Kañjūr					1	1						Found in Sq. 83. 65' outside the NE corner of the precinct 1F.
Dharmarājikā T12	Kañjūr						1						In the casket found in the debris between T12 and G5.
Kālawān A1	Small Diaper							(AD 76)					A thin copper-plate dated the year 134 of Azes.
Dharmarājikā G5	Small Diaper							(AD 78/79)					A silver scroll dated the year 136 of Azes.
Dharmarājikā K3	Semi-ashlar							3					
Dharmrarājikā P6	Semi-ashlar								3	7			
Dharmarājikā N11	Semi-ashlar										*15*		
Dharmarājikā P7, 10	Semi-ashlar											5	

(An original chart by S. Kuwayama)

Table 2 - A Provisional Chronology for the Monuments and their Masonries at the early Dharmarājikā Stūpa Court and Sirkap

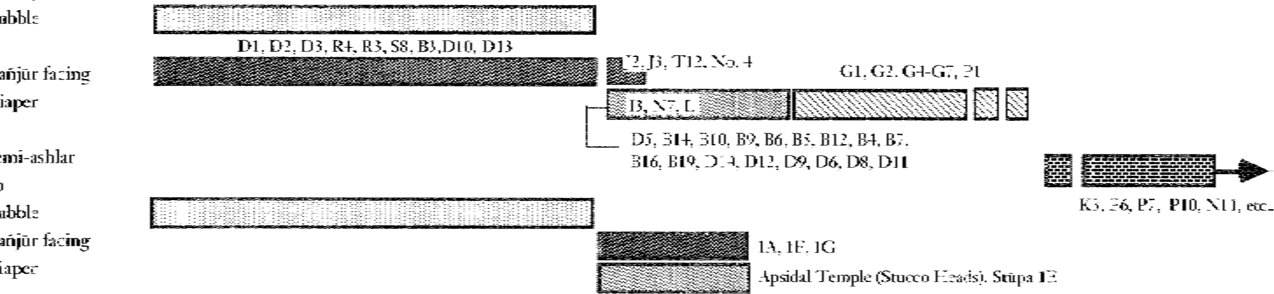


Table 3 - Marshall's Chronological Interpretation of Early Masonries at Taxila

TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION	RULER	DATE	LEVEL	REMARKS	SITES & BUILDINGS
Early rubble and Early rubble with kañjūr facing	Azes I	BC 38	Stratum VI (Early Śaka)	First construction of city walls at Sirkap in the middle of the first century BC.	Sirkap - City walls and all houses from the stratum IV up to the stratum II except the monuments in diaper masonry. Stūpas 1A, 1Ea, 1F, 1G,
	Azilises	BC 10			
	Azes II	AD 5	Stratum III (Late Śaka)		Dharmarājikā - Stūpa: D1. D2. D3. R4. S8. B3. B20. D13. D10. N3. J2. J3. D4. Q1. S7. G8. E1. E2. Stūpa between B4 and B7. Stūpa below B16. A square base inside G3. Stūpas nos. 1 and 4. Monastic cells: F1- F3, T2 - T7.
			Stratum II (Parthian)		Other sites - Mohra Marialān. Jandiāl A, B, C, D.
Early Diaper	Gondophares	AD 25		Introduction of diaper masonry to Taxila	Sirkap - Apsidal Temple, Houses 2D and 2F, and other walls repaired with diaper masonry.
	Vima Kadphises	AD 60 AD 78 AD 80	Stratum I (Kuṣān)	Taxila inscription of year 136 Transfer of city from Sirkap to Sirsukh	Dharmarājikā - S6, S10, B14, B10, B9, B6, B5, S2, B7, D14, D12, D9, D6, D8, D5, R1, R3, L, I3, I2, G1, G2, G4-G7, M 2, M3, M8, M9, M7, M12, M16, T1, T12, P1, N8
		AD 128		Accession of Kaniṣka	Other sites - Chir Tope A, B, C, D1 and D2. Early phase of main stūpa at Pippala. Main stūpa of Monastery C-D-E at Giri.

(An original chart by S. Kuwayama)

CHAPTER NINE

COINAGE FROM IRAN TO GANDHĀRA
With special reference to divinities as coin types

David W. Mac Dowall

This paper discusses the development of coinage in the countries between Iran and Gandhāra in the three centuries between the eastern expedition of Alexander the Great (331–323 B.C.) and the coming of the Kuṣāṇas in the first century A.D.[1] Alexander's Imperial Coinage gave western Asia a relatively uniform currency using the rich iconography of Greek divinities as its coin types. The Seleucid kings, the successors of Alexander in western Asia, developed the Hellenistic convention that the obverse side of silver coins normally carried the king's portrait, while the reverse was reserved for the gods. Parthia and Bactria had both been satrapies of the Seleucid empire and naturally continued to use the same basic framework for their own coinages. Whereas Parthia was very conservative in its choice of coin types, the kings of Bactria, who were fiercely proud of their Greek inheritance, made extensive use of the great Olympian gods with their traditional attributes. When the Greeks of Bactria conquered northern India the Greek gods retained an important role but an increasing syncretism with local divinities can be seen and the Indo-Greek coinages develop the theriomorphic representation of Indian divinities. When the Śaka and Pahlava invaders eventually overthrew the Indo-Greek kingdoms, there were further substantial

[1] My thanks are due to the many scholars who have discussed with me the various problems raised by these coinages over many years, especially Professor David Bivar. I am particularly grateful to the staff of the Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford for their friendly help and to all the museums who have allowed me to work in their collections over the past half century. I must equally record my thanks for the facilities that I have been given by the Ashmolean Museum, Indian Institute and Bodleian Libraries in the University of Oxford and the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Classical Institute and the Royal Numismatic Society in London.

changes, although some Greek divinities such as Zeus and Athena remained.

The Pre-Alexander coinages

At the time of Alexander's eastern campaign all western Asia as far as Bactria and the river Indus was part of the Achaemenid Persian empire. Its official currency for more than two centuries had consisted of the daric (a gold coin weighing c. 8.5 gm.) and the siglos (a silver coin weighing c. 5.6 gm.).[2] The types of both gold daric and silver siglos had long remained unchanged—having the Great King as a Persian archer on the obverse and the mark of a punch on the reverse. The traditional Achaemenid relation of value between gold and silver was 1 : 13.3.[3] This was the basis of the weight standard of the daric and siglos, and their official exchange. In Greece the relative value of gold to silver had long been c. 1 : 12. It dropped to 1 : 10 after Philip of Macedon opened the gold mines of Mount Pangaeus in southern Thrace in 358–357 B.C.[4] In view of this different valuation of silver in terms of gold, it is not surprising that worn Greek silver coins were imported by the Achaemenids and outnumber royal Achaemenid sigloi in hoards found in Asia.[5]

At Taxila and in Gandhāra there was a local currency of silver Bent Bars,[6] weighing c. 11 gm. about double the weight of the silver siglos. At the time of the Macedonian conquest, the eastern provinces of the Achaemenid empire depended heavily on older worn Greek coins and silver bent bars valued as bullion.

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[2] Ian Carradice "The Royal Coinage of the Persian Empire" in Ian Carradice (ed.) *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (Oxford, 1987), 73–95 and Plates X–XV.

[3] Barclay V. Head *Historia Nummorum 2nd ed.* (London, 1977), 826.

[4] Head 1977, 222.

[5] Daniel Schlumberger "L'argent Grec dans l'empire Achéménide" in Raoul Curiel et Daniel Schlumberger *Trésors Monétaires d'Afghanistan* (Paris, 1953), 16–30.

[6] Curiel et Schlumberger, 1953, 41–45.

Alexander's imperial coinage

Alexander III of Macedon, born in 356 B.C., was only 20 when he succeeded to the throne in 336 B.C. He succeeded his father as commander of the league of Corinth, committed to raise a Pan Hellenic force against Persia, the old enemy of Greece. Early in his reign, before his invasion of western Asia in 334 B.C., he introduced his own imperial coinage, which was to leave its mark for many generations.[7] It was based on a gold-silver ratio of 1 : 10—a sustainable and realistic rate with full regard for the relative value of precious metals on the open bullion market. It used the Attic weight standard with a silver tetradrachm of c. 17.2 gm. and a gold stater of c. 8.6 gm.[8] It was shrewdly chosen to complement and eventually replace the trading currency of "owls"—the Athenian silver tetradrachms—which had come to dominate commercial transactions in the eastern Mediterranean and beyond as far as Central Asia.

The designs for the new coinage were carefully chosen to convey a Pan Hellenic flavour. The stater had the head of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet on the obverse and Nike (victory) holding a wreath in her right and a ship's mast in her left hand on the reverse (Fig. 9.1).[9] Athena was the goddess of wisdom, bringer of victory and freedom. This was a good choice to provide finance for a military expedition to free the Greeks of Asia Minor. Its political allusion was to Corinth and the league of Greek cities formed to challenge the Persian empire. The reverse type of Nike referred to the victory expected before, during, and after the campaign. The mast signified a naval victory in particular, recalling the great naval victory of the Greeks against the Persians in the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C. The silver tetradrachm had the head of Hercules with a lion skin-headdress on the obverse and Zeus seated on a stool throne with an eagle in his right hand on the reverse (Fig. 9.2).[10] Alexander had a great veneration for Hercules, the greatest of all Greek heroes, who lived a life of toil and hardship, purging the

[7] Martin Jessop Price *The coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue* 2 vols. (Zurich/London, 1991).

[8] Price, 1991, 41–45.

[9] Price, 1991, Plate 1.

[10] Price, 1991, Plate XVIII.

world of monsters and evil doers and was rewarded after death by immortality among the gods. It was through Hercules that the Macedonian royal house could claim Greek descent and a warrior hero was a very suitable type for the coinage to finance a major military expedition. The reverse type of Zeus, king of the Greek gods, with invincible power over gods and men, provided a role model for Alexander as leader of the Pan Hellenic army. The copper denominations had a wider range of types. They included a club, quiver, bow, bowcase, eagle, Macedonian horse, etc.—each with a clear reference to, or association with, one of the Greek gods.

The Seleucid empire

Alexander died at Babylon in 323 B.C. On the division of his empire Seleucus, one of Alexander's principal officers, was allocated the satrapy of Babylon. Initially he continued to issue coins on the pattern of Alexander's imperial coinage, now with a portrait of Alexander on the obverse, but after assuming the royal title in 305 B.C. he substituted his own name.[11] Like Alexander, Seleucus I Nikator (312–280 B.C.), struck coins at a series of mints across the eastern provinces—Seleucia on the Tigris, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana, Bactra and Hecatompylos or Artacoana.[12] The reverse types of the silver denominations were drawn from the Olympian deities—Zeus enthroned, holding an eagle or Nike in his outstretched right hand (Fig. 9.3) and Athena brandishing a javelin, standing in a chariot drawn by four elephants (Fig. 9.4). His successor Antiochus I Soter (280–261 B.C.), introduced a portrait of himself and a new reverse type of Apollo seated on an omphalos (Fig. 9.5). The type was continued under Antiochus II Theos (262–246 B.C.). Seleucus II Kallinikos (246–226 B.C.) had a new reverse type of Apollo, standing with his arm resting on his tripod (Fig. 9.6). Seleucus III Soter (224–223 B.C.) reverted to the type of Apollo seated on an omphalos, a type continued by Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.). In 205 B.C. Antiochus returned in triumph from his successful military campaign

[11] Price, 1991, 31–32.

[12] Edward T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, (New York, 1938).

in Parthia and Bactria. He brought with him the spoils of war and a large number of war elephants (the equivalent of tanks in antiquity). He commemorated it by using the elephant reverse type on the silver. There was more variety in the reverse types of the copper, which include an Indian humped bull and a bull's head under Seleucus II. The Attic weight standard of Alexander's imperial coinage was maintained,[13] but a new pattern was established with the portrait of the king on the obverse, while the reverse was reserved for the deity.

Parthia

About 250 B.C. Parthia secured its independence from the Seleucids. Its coinage was struck on the Attic weight standard used by the Seleucids and its coin types were taken from Seleucid types.[14] The most important denomination was the silver drachm c. 4 gm. Its obverse usually had the Parthian king's portrait with his own distinctive head dress. The reverse type was a seated Parthian warrior, probably Arsaces founder of the dynasty, holding the bow for which the Parthians were celebrated in battle (Fig. 9.7). Under the earlier kings the seated figure sat on a stool, then on an omphalos and finally on a throne (Fig. 9.8). The obverse type was set inside a long Greek legend often difficult to read, which gave not the name of the king, but "Arsaces" followed by a string of honorific titles varying with each monarch.

The Parthian empire was extended greatly by Mithradates I (171–138 B.C.), who added parts of Bactria in the east and Babylonia in the west to his kingdom. From this period the Parthian kings also issued silver tetradrachms with a circulation limited to Mesopotamia. They also had a portrait of the king on the obverse. Reverse types attributed to Mithradates include Hercules standing with his club and lion skin and Apollo with an arrow seated on an omphalos. On tetradrachms of Artabanus I (c. 127–123 B.C.) and Mithradates II (c. 123–88 B.C.) the tetradrachm type was an enthroned Tyche or Demeter holding a cornucopia, and a Nike who crowns her with a

[13] O. Mørkholm "The Attic coin standards in the Levant" *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1982), 139–149.
[14] David Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971).

wreath. From the later issues of Mithradates II to Orodes I (c. 57–38 B.C.), the type again becomes an archer seated on a throne holding a bow. From the later coinage of Orodes I there was a new reverse type of a Tyche (or city goddess) in front of the enthroned king (Fig. 9.9)—kneeling before him or presenting him with a palm or a wreath. For Artabanus II (A.D. 10–38), the type of the king mounted on horseback is greeted by Tyche (Fig. 9.10).

Bactria

Bactria gained its independence c. 250 B.C. about the same time as Parthia, when its satrap Diodotus revolted against the Seleucid king.[15] The monetary system of the newly independent Bactria retained the Attic/Seleucid weight standard and denominations, with a gold stater (c. 8.4 gm.) and a silver tetradrachm (c. 16.8 gm.) with a range of subdivisions. The purity of the silver denominations was remarkably high, 98–99%[16] up to the time of Eucratides. Copper small change was also issued on the Attic/Seleucid system in which eight chalkoi were worth one silver obol and six obols were worth one silver drachm. The usual copper denomination was the dichalkon (c. 8 gm.). As in many ancient coinages, there seems to have been a minting charge on both gold and silver coins so that the value of a gold or silver coin for the bullion it contained was normally below its theoretical value as a coin.[17] This made it possible for coins of slightly different weights to circulate together freely. The copper denominations enjoyed a larger overvaluation. This enabled some later Indo-Greek rulers to strike copper coins of apparently different weight standards within a fairly uniform silver system.

Under the Greek kings of Bactria each ruler normally had his own distinctive types that he used on all his silver denominations.

[15] The chronology of the revolt has been extensively discussed by historians and numismatists. The latest treatment of the subject is to be found in Josef Wolski, *The Seleucids, The Decline and Fall of their Empire* (Krakow, 1999), 43–56.

[16] The silver purity of coins cited in chapters four and nine is based on the results of the electron probe micro analyses undertaken by Dr. J.P. Northover of the Department of Metallurgy for my forthcoming Catalogue of Coins of the Indo-Greeks in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[17] Sture Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (Uppsala, 1958).

On the obverse was a portrait of the king and on the reverse an appropriate deity. Diodotus II continued to use the same canting type of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt as his father Diodotus I. Pantaleon and Agathocles shared the reverse type of Zeus holding Hecate. For the copper coinage each ruler usually employed two deities normally the head of one god on the obverse and the figure of another on the reverse. On smaller copper denominations there were often abbreviated references to the same deity, such as the head of a horse in lieu of the galloping horse on coppers of Euthydemus I.

Divinities on the Greek coins of Bactria

The range of deities employed on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria are set out in the Appendix. It will be seen that they make use of no fewer than nine of the great Greek gods.

Zeus was the greatest god in Greek mythology, the eldest son of Chronos whom he overthrew. His power was greater than that of all the gods together. When he hurls his thunderbolt his lightning is irresistible. His normal attributes are a thunderbolt, or a sceptre of authority. He usually has an aegis and sometimes holds a small figure such as Nike, or Hecate. He presides over gods and men to whom he weighs out their destinies. The two kings Diodotus, whose name means "gift of Zeus", chose the thundering Zeus type for their silver,[18] a pun on their name; but the type also pointed to the power of Zeus the thunderer in securing independence from the great Seleucid king (Fig. 9.11). The head of Zeus was also used as a copper type. Zeus was in effect the tutelary deity of the Diodotids.

Hercules was the greatest of all Greek heroes, a man of superhuman bravery and strength, who rid the world of evil doers, and attained divine immortality after death. His first labor was to kill the lion who was terrorising the countryside of Nemea. His normal attributes are the lion's skin, his trophy, and the great club that he had cut for himself. Alexander himself was a special devotee and had used a head of Hercules in a lion scalp as the obverse type of the silver tetradrachms in his imperial coinage. Euthydemus I became

[18] Osmond Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques, Catalogue raisonné Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1991).

king of Bactria by expelling the descendants of Demetrius I who had revolted from the Seleucids. The type of Hercules seated on a rock or throne, resting from his labours on his gold and silver (Fig. 9.12) was particularly appropriate to the circumstances of his accession. Hercules was a natural choice for the tutelary deity of the Euthydemids. His son Demetrius I was said to have conquered India. His Bactrian silver coinage portrays him wearing the elephant headdress that symbolises India (Fig. 9.14). No doubt the reverse type of Hercules crowning himself with a wreath referred to this victorious campaign, which he must have conducted as heir apparent before he struck his own coinage as full king. Euthydemus II, the next family member to become king used a third version of Hercules—holding a wreath in his right hand (Fig. 9.16).

Hecate, the first cousin of Apollo and Artemis, was an underworld goddess connected with sorcery and magic, worshipped at crossroads, and frequently represented as a goddess who has three heads holding torches. Hecate, standing on the extended right hand of Zeus, is the reverse type of the Bactrian silver of Pantaleon and Agathocles (Fig. 9.18), ephemeral kings of the period when the Bactrian Greeks had just conquered Ariana and India. Tarn[19] suggests that Zeus was the elephant god of Alexandria-Kapiśa and the triodos must commemorate the meeting here of the three routes across the Hindu Kush mountains as described by Alexander's mappers. He concludes that their seat must have been at Alexandria-Kapiśa, and they have some special connection with the city.

Poseidon was the reverse type chosen for the silver of Antimachus I. As the son of Chronos and brother of Zeus, the Greek god of the sea who can bring storms and earthquakes, is shown bearded and is recognisable by his attribute the trident. Tarn[20] regarded the figure holding a trident and palm (Fig. 9.20) on coins of Antimachus I as referring to a naval victory. He connected this with Cunningham's description of a copper coin of Antimachus as "Nike standing on a prow". Better specimens make it clear, however, that no prow is depicted. On the other hand the north of Afghanistan is an earthquake zone and the reference of Poseidon may be to his role of earth shaker and god of horses. He was certainly a mighty and for-

[19] W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1951), 158–159.
[20] Tarn 1951, 90–91.

midable god, who helped Apollo build the walls of Troy. The horses for which Poseidon was famous served as the reverse type of Euthydemus I coppers (Fig. 9.13).

Apollo was the son of Zeus and Leto, twin of Artemis and half brother of Hercules and Hermes. Sometimes identified with Helios the sun god, he was the god of the fine arts, medicine and music. Famed for his bow, his arrows could bring plague and death. He had received from Zeus the power of knowing futurity, and the utterances of his priestess at the oracle of Delphi were held in high repute. Apollo held a prominent position in the religion of the Greeks and his worship was widely diffused. He was represented as a beardless youth of muscular build and handsome features. The various symbols of Apollo correspond with his many attributes. As god of music, he was shown with the lyre, as archer with the bow and arrows, and as the diviner by the tripod, the favourite gift at his altars. Euthydemus II used Apollo's head as the obverse type of his copper (Fig. 9.17) and the later Eucratides II uses the figure of Apollo for his silver (Fig. 9.23).

Dionysus was the god of fertility, especially the vine. He wandered through the world spreading his worship, accompanied by his retinue of inspired women maenads, carrying wands (thyrsi), crowned with vines and ivy. In addition to the vine, the panther, lion and dolphin were sacred to him. The town of Dionysopolis (Nagara) near Jelalabad on the border between the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra was named after him. The Bactrian copper and cupro-nickel coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles have the head of Dionysus crowned with vine leaves and carrying a thyrsus over his shoulder with a panther standing in front of a vine on the reverse (Fig. 9.19). Tarn[21] has suggested that the type refers to the connection of these kings in some capacity with the homonymous city.

The Dioscuri (i.e., sons of Zeus) were the two tutelary gods of warlike youth, ideal types of bravery and dexterity in fighting. They were generally represented armed with long lances, riding their horses. Their characteristic emblem was an oval helmet crowned with a star. They were used as the reverse type of gold, silver and copper denominations of Eucratides I (Fig. 9.21), an appropriate choice for the

[21] Tarn 1951, 158–159.

Bactrian king who was obliged to fight his way to power and wage a succession of wars in Sogdia, Arachosia, Drangiana, Aria, and India.

Athena was the daughter of Zeus, the favourite of her father. She had a prominent place in Greek popular religion and was generally regarded as the goddess of war with wise courage, and the friend of bold warriors. She was worshipped at Athens as "Promachos" (protector). She was represented with a helmet on her head holding a lance and leaning on a shield at her side. Her normal attributes are her helmet, the aegis on her breast, her gorgon shield and the owl. This is the representation of Athena found on the coppers of Diodotus and on the silver denominations of Demetrius II (Fig. 9.22). In the later Indo-Greek coinage of Menander she is represented as Athena "Alkidemos"[22] (defender of the people), where she fights with a thunderbolt-a representation derived from the statue in the temple at Pella of the warrior Athena who protected Perseus and Hercules, ancestors of the royal Macedonian family. According to Strabo, Menander overthrew more peoples in India than Alexander. In adopting the type of Athena Alkidemos, he seems to be proclaiming he was a second Alexander.

Artemis was the daughter of Zeus and twin of Apollo. She was the virgin huntress, goddess of hunting and women. With her torch she is the goddess of light by night and comes to be identified with the moon. She is represented as a tall beautiful maiden, with a bow and quiver on her shoulder or torch in her hand, as on the copper coins of Diodotus. On the copper dichalkon of Demetrius I, however, rays emanate from the head of Artemis, and the coin type seems to be based on the cult image of Artemis-Anahita in her temple at Bactra (Fig. 9.15).[23] With this exception, in all the coin types of the Bactrian coinage we find only the traditional Greek divinities with the Greek attributes that are to be found in the classical and Hellenistic imagery of European Greece.

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[22] A.B. Brett "Athena Alkidemos of Pella," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 4 (1950), 55–72.

[23] Tarn 1951, 115.

Early Graeco-Bactrian links with Ariana and India

When Seleucus I Nikator tried to recover the eastern provinces of Alexander the Great c. 304 B.C., he was obliged to accept the suzerainty of Chandragupta over Gandhāra, Arachosia and the Paropamisadae, and these provinces remained Mauryan for the next century. Their silver coinage consisted of Indian punch marked coins of the distinctive imperial series with multiple symbols, struck to a weight standard of c 3.4 gm. much lighter than the weight of an Attic drachm. Its silver was c. 66% fine, much lower than Bactrian silver coins, which was normally 98% pure.[24] Change was provided by oblong die struck copper coins with a pronounced incuse. When the Bactrian Greeks first conquered these provinces we see a number of experimental moves to meet the currency needs of the new territories and to coordinate existing denominations north and south of the Hindu-Kush.

(a) **Demetrius I** who was responsible for the early stages of the Bactrian conquest of Ariana and India added two new heavier denominations to the Bactrian coppers, namely the trichalkon (i.e. 3 chalkoi) at 12 gm. and the hexachalkon (i.e. 6 copper units) at 24 gm. with a legend in Greek only. The hexachalkon (the Gorgon shield/trident type) has a significantly different distribution. It is principally found in the Paropamisadae, Gandhāra and Taxila and I have argued that it was an attempt to harmonize the copper currency of Bactria with the pre-existing Mauryan coppers.[25]

(b) **Antimachus I Theos** struck bronze coins (with 20% tin) in an oblong shape with the obverse type of an elephant and the reverse type of a thunderbolt inside an incuse with a Greek legend (Fig. 9.24).[26] This seems to have been an experimental type that was not pursued.

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[24] A. Cunningham *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (Chicago, 1969 unchanged reprint of the 1884 edition), 317–320 quotes 80% from a series of 113 assays (mostly by native goldsmiths in India) made in the later 19th century. Professor M.C. Ganorkar of the Birla Institute of Scientific Research in Hyderabad has kindly provided me with the results of 12 chemical analyses he has carried out recently where the results cover a wider range from 65 to 85%. There was probably a progressive decline in silver purity over a period of time, but as yet there is no detailed agreed chronology of the punch marked coinage.

[25] D.W. Mac Dowall "The copper coinage of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus", *South Asian Studies* 5 (1989), 29–33.

[26] Jean Noel Barrendon and Helene Nicolet-Pierre "Analyses de monnaies royales

(c) **Pantaleon's** copper coins, oblong in shape with a pronounced incuse, have a Brāhmī legend with an Indian goddess dancing on the obverse and a Greek legend with the type of a lion in the incuse on the reverse. These were used as normal copper currency at Begram, Taxila and Mir Zakah. The "dancing girl" is clearly Indian. She has oriental trousers and long dangling earrings. She has been identified as a Yakṣī[27] and as Subhadrā, sister of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa, the Indian gods who appear on the experimental silver of Agathocles.

(d) **Agathocles**, near contemporary and close successor of Pantaleon, issued similar oblong copper coins (Fig. 9.26). He also issued small triangular coppers, cut as a segment of a larger circular flan, with legends in Kharoṣṭhī on both sides—Akathukreyasa with a caitya on the obverse (Fig. 9.27) and Hiranasame with a tree in a railing on the reverse. Both types were symbols well known from Mauryan coinage. Most surprising of all was the rare issue of square silver coins of Mauryan format, like the Indian kārṣāpaṇas, with legends in Greek and Brāhmī representing in Greek fashion and anthropomorphic form two Indian deities Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 9.25).[28] This was an experimental coinage, not pursued further.

(e) **Apollodotus I**, successor of Agathocles and Pantaleon in the Paropamisadae, showed further stages of development in the Indo-Greek silver coinage.[29] His round hemidrachms with an elephant and Greek legend on the obverse and a humped bull with a translation of the legend into Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse (Fig. 9.28), were followed by square hemidrachms with the same types and legends, still struck to the Attic weight standard of Bactria, but now with four

Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques des II–I siècles avant J.C.", *Schweizer Münzblätter* 155 (1989), 64–65 show that the Paris coins of Antimachus Theos nos. 14–16 from Mir Zakah contain c. 20% tin. Most Bactrian and Indo-Greek small change was struck in copper.

[27] Tarn 1951, 159 argues that she is a Yakṣī connected with Dionysopolis (Nagara). A.K. Coomaraswamy "Early Indian Iconography" *Eastern Art* I, 175ff. identified her with Lakṣmī Śrī (Indian goddess of good fortune) and R. Filliozat "Representation de Vasudeva et Samkarṣaṇa au siècle II^e avant J.C." *Arts Asiatiques* 26 (1973), 113–121 argues for Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa because her two brothers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma were used on the contemporary silver coins of Agathocles.

[28] Remy Audouin et Paul Bernard, "Trésor de Monnaies Indiennes et Indo-Grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)" *Revue Numismatique* 1974, 7–23.

[29] D.W. Mac Dowall and N.G. Wilson "Apollodoti Reges Indorum" *Numismatic Chronicle* 1960, 221–228 and Bopearachchi, 1991, 62–64.

symbols familiar from the Mauryan coinage. The third stage dropped the Mauryan symbols (Fig. 9.29). It used the same types and square format, but was struck to a slightly heavier weight[30]—the Indian drachm c. 2.5 gm. with a good purity of silver - 98–99%. His copper coins were square without any incuse.

f) **Antimachus II Nikephorus** retained the square bilingual Greek/Kharoṣṭhī copper coinage but modifies the shape of the bilingual Indian silver drachm. This was now struck as a round coin. When the Bactrian Greeks conquered the provinces of northwestern India, they clearly recognised that it was necessary to make some accommodation to the needs of their new subjects. But the interesting experiment of Agathocles in representing Indian deities, in Greek style, with the full panoply of their attributes in anthropomorphic representations was somewhat alien to the Indian coin tradition at this stage. Much more important was coin usage which entailed the production of denominations with the value required for transactions in Indian bazaars and the addition of a legend in readable Kharoṣṭhī to identify the king responsible for the issue. The obverse and reverse types employed were, however, widened beyond the traditional range of Olympian deities to which the Bactrian Greeks had deliberately limited their repertoire.

The Indo-Greeks

The Indo-Greek kings struck a bimetallic coinage in silver and copper. The principal denomination was the Indian drachm (c. 2.5 gm.). This was substantially lower than the weight of the Attic drachm (c. 4 gm.) used by the Greek kings in Bactria and was chosen to produce a new denomination which would circulate alongside the Mauryan Punch Marked silver current in the provinces south of the Hindu Kush mountains. It was lighter than the punch marked silver kārṣāpaṇa, but maintained the high quality 98–99% silver that had been used in Bactria, so that the silver content of the Greek Indian drachm was virtually the same as that of a Mauryan kārṣāpaṇa. The weight remained uniform but there was a very slight reduction

[30] Mac Dowall and Wilson 1960, 228.

in the silver purity of successive issues. It had dropped to 94–95% by the time of Hermaeus, when there was a major debasement in the Paropamisadae, and to 73–87% by the time of Zoilus II in the east Pānjab, where there was a similar debasement under Strato II.[31] At Taxila and in Gandhāra, on the other hand, it had only dropped to 87–94% when the Indo-Scythians under Maues captured the Indus valley. The copper denominations also seem to have been related to the pre-existing Mauryan denominations, but their weights varied more widely, presumably because the copper coinage was overvalued more substantially and the Indo-Greek monetary system was based on the silver standard.

Unlike the Greek rulers of Bactria, the Mauryans had no tradition of royal portraiture. The Indo-Greek rulers introduced many Greek iconographic features to Indian coin design, but Antimachus II and Apollodotus I did not introduce any portrait of the king, nor did Menander in his initial issues. Eucratides I, however, ruler of both Bactria and the western Indo-Greek provinces, put his portrait on his bilingual silver drachms and square coppers. Subsequent Indo-Greek rulers regularly employed the king's head for the obverse type of the silver, although they were content to employ a wider range of types on the obverse of the coppers.

Divinities on the Indo-Greek coins

The obverse and reverse types used on the silver and copper coins of the Indo-Greeks are set out in the Appendix. It will be seen that the great Greek gods still had a prominent role, as in Bactria, but there were important developments at the beginning of the dynasty.

The first four Greek kings to strike a bilingual silver coinage of Indian drachms showed a new approach to iconography. Apollodotus I used the elephant and the bull (Fig. 9.29). The Indian humped bull was particularly associated with Puṣkalāvatī, the ancient capital of Gandhāra. The lexicographer Hesychius knew the bull as the god

[31] Osmund Bopearachchi, "The posthumous coinage of Hermaios and the conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans" in *Gandharan Art in Context*, ed. R. Allchin et al. (Cambridge, 1997), 189–213 for the Paropamisadae, and D.W. Mac Dowall "The context of Rajuvula the satrap", *Acta Antiqua* 1977, 187–195, especially 193–194 for the east Pānjab. This has been further quantified by the analyses of Dr. P. Northover.

of Gandhāra.[32] The Indo-Scythic gold coin of the city of Puṣkalāvatī had the humped bull as its reverse type; and the bull is the *vahana* of Śiva. The reference of the type is clearly to Puṣkalāvatī, the province of Gandhāra (a key province of Apollodotus' kingdom), and to Śiva. The elephant was a common type on early Indian coins, particularly at Eran and Taxila. Tarn[33] suggested a special connection with Taxila and pointed to the elephant of Porus that Alexander dedicated to the temple of the sun there. But the elephant was the *vahana* of Indra, king of the gods, who wielded power with the thunderbolt, as did the Greek Zeus. In Xuan Zang, Mt. Pilusara south west of Kapiśa was given its name from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant; and the copper coin of the later Eucratides III with the legend "the city god of Kapiśa" had the reverse type of Zeus enthroned with an elephant protome (Fig. 9.37). The reference of the elephant was to Alexandria-Kapiśa, the Paropamisadae (another province of Apollodotus I) and to Indra. The copper types are more predictably Greek, the canting types of Apollo and his tripod, based on the king's name, "the gift of Apollo;" but rays emanate from the head of Apollo emphasizing his solar role and making him here Apollo-Helios-Mithra (Fig. 9.30). The silver types of Antimachus Nikephorus, whose kingdom seems to have been based on Taxila, were (i) the Greek goddess Nike, one of the constant companions of Zeus, a type particularly appropriate for a king given the cognomen Nikephorus "bringer of victory" and (ii) the king riding on a spirited horse, a type going back to Philip of Macedon, celebrating the military role of the ruler in relation to his kingdom (Fig. 9.31), echoing the role of Alexander himself, and comparable to the royal archer on Achaemenid sigloi and Parthian drachms. The copper types of Antimachus drew on simple Greek iconography (i) the wreath and palm of victory and (ii) the aegis of Zeus who brought it about. Eucratides I the Great, successor of Apollodotus I in the Paropamisadae and Arachosia, was also king of Bactria. He introduced a single coordinated bilingual copper coinage across his northern and southern provinces, making use of his portrait on the obverse and the Dioscuri on the reverse of his coinage in all metals

[32] Tarn 1951, 135 and P.L. Gupta "The City Goddess of Pushkalavati", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 20, (1958), 68–70.
[33] Tarn, 1951, 154.

(Fig. 9.32). Menander, the junior contemporary and enemy of Eucratides, who began his reign further to the east at Taxila and Sāgala, was reputed to be the greatest Indo-Greek king who conquered more territory than Alexander and led an expedition against Pāṭaliputra, the old Mauryan capital. He was initially defeated by Eucratides, but captured the Paropamisadae after his enemy was murdered. He produced a bewildering array of types—one of gold, three of silver, and sixteen of copper. We must distinguish an early chronological stage when he used the head of Athena with the reverse types of Athena's owl and Gorgon shield. After this, the silver had several different types of Menander's portrait on the obverse and several forms of Athena hurling a thunderbolt on the reverse. Athena is represented in a new way, as Athena Alkidemos, copying the representation of the goddess in her statue at Pella (Fig. 9.33). Menander had clearly chosen Athena Alkidemos as his tutelary divinity and the type was subsequently employed by several of his successors such as Strato I (Fig. 9.38), Polyxenus, Epander, Thason, Dionysus, Zoilus II Apollodotus II, Strato II and III. Later in his reign Menander introduced a denominational system in his copper coinage, in which different denominations were distinguished by different types and sometimes by numbers—A for one chalkous (Fig. 9.35), B for two (Fig. 9.36), Δ for four (Fig. 9.34), H for eight chalkoi.[34] But the system did not outlive Menander. The third group consists of types in copper known only from one or two surviving examples. I suspect that they may have been proofs for alternative types of copper coins that were never put into production. They include a *cakra* (wheel of the law? representing Buddhism) on a minuscule denomination of c. 1.5 gm. and the forepart of a boar (? representing an incarnation of Viṣṇu).

The types of the later Indo-Greek kings were much less varied. There were few attempts to introduce more types with a specifically Indian reference. The bull, elephant, Nike, the king riding on a spirited horse and Menander's dynastic type of Athena Alkidemos (Fig. 9.38) were added to the Bactrian repertoire based on the great Greek Gods. The obverse type of the silver was invariably a portrait (Telephus excepted). The obverse the copper coins sometimes

[34] D.W. Mac Dowall "The copper denominations of Menander", *Acta Iranica* 1975, 142–150.

had the head of the king, sometimes the bust of a deity such as Hercules, Apollo, Zeus (Fig. 9.40), or Poseidon, sometimes the figure of a deity such as Apollo, Demeter, Nike, Artemis, Athena, Zeus or a theriomorphic representation such as an elephant and bull. The reverse types of both silver and copper mainly drew on the same Greek repertoire such as Zeus on Heliocles (Fig. 9.41) and Artemis on Artemidorus (Fig. 9.42). New types were few in number. Examples are Tyche, the lion on Menander II Dikaios, and the puzzling sea monster on Telephus (Fig. 9.45).

Tyche was the Greek goddess who personified good fortune, derived from the Roman Fortuna and the Great Goddess of the East. She was unknown in Homer but had a growing importance in the Hellenistic period with the decline of belief in the traditional gods and a growing belief in the random and irrational workings of Fate. She normally carries a cornucopiae (horn of plenty) and wears on her head either a Kalathus (a basket for holding corn) or a turreted crown (as a city goddess). The type of Tyche introduced by Philoxenus, Peucolaus and Hippostratus was perhaps inspired by "her usage" on Parthian tetradrachms of Artabanus I (c. 127–123 B.C.).

The juxtaposition of the protome of the elephant (the vehicle of Indra) with the enthroned Zeus on coins of Amyntas and Antialcidas (Fig. 9.39), and the type of Zeus standing in front of an elephant on tetradrachms of Antialcidas confirm the identification of the Greek god Zeus with the Indian god Indra—both king of the gods. The addition of the rays round the head of the standing Zeus on coins of Archebius (Fig. 9.43) and the enthroned Zeus of Amyntas and Hermaeus (Fig. 9.44) point to the syncretism that was taking place between the Greek god Zeus and the Iranian deity Mithras to create Zeus-Mithra.

The Indo-Scythians

When the Indus valley passed under the control of the Indo-Scythians at the beginning of the first century B.C., the basic framework of the coinage remained unchanged. Silver tetradrachms and drachms struck on the Indian weight standard continued and a copper coinage in square and round format still provided the small change. The quality of the silver remained good—at 76–94% for the house of Vonones, 78–92% for Azes I, and 39–85% for Azes II, prior to the

Great Debasement. The silver coins themselves, however, looked very different. The bust of the king, the obverse type for the silver coinage in the Indo-Greek series from Menander, was abruptly dropped. It was replaced initially by a standing figure of Zeus and then by a horseman in Scythian dress — presumably the Indo-Scythian king.[35] The legends with the name and titles of the king were still given in Greek on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse, but Maues was no longer simply "king" as on the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage, but "king of kings" in the style of the rulers of Parthia.[36] There was, however, more continuity than appears at first sight. The reigns of Apollodotus II and Maues overlapped at Taxila and control of the mint seems to have changed hands more than once. Apollodotus II coppers are overstruck on coins of Maues and the late Indo-Greek king Artemidorus is said to be "son of Maues" in the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend of one of his coppers.[37] Some of the reverse types of the Indo-Scythians seem to be distinctive and new, but others are still drawn from the Indo-Greek repertoire.

Divinities on the Indo-Scythian coins

The earliest Indo-Scythian king Maues issued a very varied and complex coinage. As simple "king" before he assumed the higher title "king of kings" Maues had used two copper types—the horse and bow case (Fig. 9.47) copied from the type of Mithradates II of Parthia (c. 123–88 B.C.), and the elephant head obverse and caduceus reverse (Fig. 9.46) copied from Demetrius I, the Bactrian king who began the conquest of India. He was clearly claiming to have repeated that role.

As "king of kings" he continued to use the types that he had inherited from the Indo-Greeks: Greek gods such as Zeus, Hercules, Artemis, Athena, Nike, Helios and the animals, the theriomorphic representations of Indian gods that the Indo-Greeks had introduced.

[35] John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 124–125.
[36] G.K. Jenkins "Indo-Scythic Mints," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 17.1 (1955), 1–26.
[37] R.C. Senior and D. Mac Donald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks* (Athens, 1998), 55–56.

But he modified some attributes of the Greek divinities and introduced some entirely new types with a specifically Indian, Iranian or Scythian reference.

The king's portrait, a regular feature as the obverse type of almost all the silver coins of the Indo-Greek kings was never employed under the Indo-Scythians. The substitute for most silver and some copper issues was the motif of a heavily armed horseman (the king presumably), riding on a horse that was not itself protected. On the silver of Azes I and some issues of Azilises the horseman holds a couched lance or spear, while on the later silver of Azilises and Azes II the horseman holds an *aṅkuśa* or whip.[38]

One silver type of Maues was Zeus holding a long scepter of authority on the obverse with Nike on the reverse (Fig. 9.48) to mark Maues' victory. Zeus seems to hold a small object that has been interpreted as a torque, a national emblem of the Scythians. Marshall[39] suggests that the type may refer to Maues' installation as Scythian king of kings; but it cannot be seen clearly. Other silver types of Maues included Helios riding in a chariot (Figs. 9.49 and 9.53), Zeus enthroned (Fig. 9.50), Tyche enthroned (Fig. 9.51), and Zeus Nikephorus (Fig. 9.52).

Azilises' silver used the earlier Indo-Greek types of the two Dioscuri riding their horses, standing side by side and as a single warrior (Fig. 9.54). There were several new types:

(a) Zeus standing alongside a turreted Tyche (Fig. 9.55).
(b) One very clearly Indian: the Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī, where two elephants on lotus flowers stand on each side of the goddess sprinkling her with water. Lakṣmī was personified in late literature as the goddess of fortune, the embodiment of grace and charm.
(c) A type where a goddess with a palm holds an object that is not immediately obvious (Fig. 9.56). It might be a turreted crown,

[38] Jenkins, 1955, 1–26. The basic chronological framework suggested by Jenkins has been challenged by R.C. Senior, *From Gondophares to Kanishka* (Glastonbury, 1997), 12 who claims that the distinction has more to do with geographical location than chronological development. It will clearly be necessary to re-examine the coinage in the light of this criticism. Nevertheless the silver issues of Azes with the king mounted, holding a whip, come at the end of the series and so can properly be differentiated as Azes II i.e., the second phase of a long series of coins if not the issues of a second king of the same name.

[39] Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951), 635–636.

signifying a city goddess. Jenkins thought she was holding a lamp and described her as a lamp goddess.[40] Most likely is Rosenfield's suggestion[41] that it is a vessel of fire proffered as an emblem of the concept of Royal good fortune.

The later silver types of Azes I were more limited, consisting of:

(a) Athena Alkidemus (Fig. 9.57).
(b) Zeus in different postures—holding his thunderbolt, hurling it, and holding a long sceptre (Fig. 9.58).
(c) The lamp goddess.

The silver types of the later Azes II are limited to

(a) Athena Promachus (Fig. 9.59).
(b) Zeus Nikephorus (Fig. 9.60).
(c) A god holding a sceptre terminating in a trident (Fig. 9.61), sometimes described as Zeus, sometimes as Poseidon. His attributes are those of Poseidon—a trident and palm as on Antimachus I, but it could also be intended as an anthropomorphic representation of Śiva.

The copper coins of the earlier Indo-Scythians are equally varied. Maues had a typical range of animal types—an elephant, bull and lion to which Azilises added a horse without a rider. Among the new types introduced by Maues were:

(a) A radiate figure of Artemis (Fig. 9.62) repeating the cult image of Anahita from Bactra that Demetrius had introduced.
(b) A female lunar deity surmounted by a crescent moon and flanked by two stars.
(c) A new form of Tyche wearing a turreted crown with a wheel at her side, holding a vessel of fire. The wheel is the emblem par excellence of Viṣṇu.
(d) The Indian god Balarāma, identified by his attributes the club and plough (Fig. 9.63). He was the god of agriculture and brother of Kṛṣṇa.
(e) An enthroned Zeus, placing his hand on a small figure in front of an aegis apparently an embodiment of the thunderbolt (Fig. 9.64).

[40] Jenkins, 1955, 10.
[41] Rosenfield, 1967, 128 suggests that the goddess is a Tyche or Nike offering a vessel of fire.

(f) A puzzling type of both Maues and Azes I seems to show Poseidon holding a trident and resting his foot on a small figure in front (Fig. 9.66). It was interpreted by Tarn[42] as a river god in a scene commemorating a naval victory on the River Indus. But it reminds Banerjea[43] of the scene in which Śiva tramples on Apasmara, the demon dwarf who personifies evil.
(g) The god holding an elephant goad (Fig. 9.65) (an attribute of Śiva under the Kuṣāṇas) seems to be a representation of Śiva.

Some types are very rare, known from only one or two examples and may represent new designs submitted for approval. Gardner[44] shrewdly comments that by some means or other Maues and his race secured the services of artists who had been instructed by Greeks but were not restricted by Greek traditions. In fact in these coins we have the remaining relics of an interesting school of art. The skilled Indo-Greek engravers who served Maues and his immediate successors were providing Greek outer clothing for many divinities who were now Indian or Scythic in character. A typical example is to be seen in Azilises' copper type of Hephaestus in typical Greek dress. Never previously used on the Bactrian or Indo-Greek coinage the type here must surely be intended for the Iranian deity Atar, son of Ahura-Mazda, personification of fire and source of royal glory.

Under the later Indo-Scythians the range of copper coin types was much more limited.

For Azes II it consisted of four series:

(a) The elephant and bull (Fig. 9.67).
(b) The enthroned Tyche holding a cornucopiae and Hermes holding a caduceus (Fig. 9.68).
(c) The bull and lion (Fig. 9.69).
(d) The seated king and Hermes holding a caduceus (Fig. 9.70).

Each copper type was regularly linked by the use of common monograms to one of the silver types.

Zeionises an independent satrap of the period of Azes II struck tetradrachms in good silver (c. 86% fine) with a Parthian motif. The

[42] Tarn 1951, 328–329.
[43] J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), 121.
[44] Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in The British Museum* (London, 1886), lviii.

Satrap is crowned with a wreath by Nike and then by a turreted Tyche holding a cornucopiae.

Towards the end of the reign of Azes II the coinage suffered the Great Debasement identified by Marshall. The silver content of the tetradrachm was reduced sharply to 10% or less. The weights and types of the old silver denominations were retained but now struck in billon; and the copper denominations, having no further role in the system were discontinued. There had of course been a comparable debasement of the silver currency after the reign of Hermaeus in the Paropamisadae and after the rule of Strato II in the east Pānjab.[45]

The Indo-Parthians

The kingdom of the Indo-Parthians was established by Gondophares who reckoned the date of his accession from A.D. 19.[46] Gondophares, by which he is known, was not a personal name but a title meaning "winner of glory". Beginning with Aria and Seistān, he brought the former western provinces of the Indo-Greeks (Arachosia and the Paropamisadae), under his control, then the Indo-Scythian provinces of the Indus valley (Gandhāra and Taxila), with the quasi independent territory of the Apraca rājas of Bajaur.[47] Finally he took the eastern Indo-Greek kingdom of Sāgala.[48] Gondophares made no attempt to unify or standardise the disparate coinages and monetary systems of the territories that came under his control or to introduce a new general currency. In each territory he simply retained the pattern of coinage he had found there at the time of his conquest, adding his own name and titulature.

In Arachosia and the Paropamisadae the Great Debasement after the fall of the last Indo-Greek king Hermaeus[49] had left a coinage

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[45] Marshall 1951, 53 and 773.

[46] The Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondophares in the 26th year, in the 103rd year, i.e., in the twenty-sixth year of his reign in year 103 of the era (of Azes 58/57 B.C.), puts his accession in A.D. 19. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. 2 Pt. I* (Calcutta, 1929), 57–62.

[47] Senior, 1997, 9–10.

[48] Mac Dowall 1977, 189–190.

[49] Bopearachchi 1997,189–213.

of copper tetradrachms, retaining in a debased form the types, legends and weight of the former silver tetradrachms of Hermaeus. The coinage struck here by Gondophares consisted of copper tetradrachms of the same basic type with the head of Gondophares and his titles modelled on those of the posthumous Hermaeus series with the new reverse type of Nike (Fig. 9.71).[50] His successors Abdagases, Sases, Gondophares II, Sarpedones, Orthagnes and Pacores, etc. continued to use the same type in Arachosia until the end of the dynasty.

In the provinces of the Indus valley, Gandhāra and Taxila, the Great Debasement at the end of the reign of Azes II had left a currency of debased billon tetradrachms with one obverse type, the Indo-Scythian king mounted on horseback holding a whip in his right hand. In these provinces Gondophares struck a coinage of billon tetradrachms with:

(a) One new reverse type—a standing figure of Poseidon or Śiva holding a trident (Fig. 9.72) and
(b) Two of the existing types—the god standing, holding a sceptre (Fig. 9.74) and the figure of Athena (Fig. 9.73). His successors Abdagases and Sases struck billon tetradrachms with the god standing, holding a sceptre and Zeus Nikephorus (Fig. 9.75).

In the east Pānjab, where a late Indo-Greek kingdom had avoided conquest by the Indo-Scythians there had been a great debasement under the late Indo-Greek kings Strato II and III and the Śaka satrap Rājuvula. Here Gondophares struck dumpy billon drachms copying their billon drachms with a crude bust of the king and a crude stylised type of Athene Promachos (Fig. 9.76).[51] His successors Abdagases, Sases, Sarpedones, etc. continued to strike coins of the same types.

[50] D.W. Mac Dowall, "The dynasty of the later Indo-Parthians," *Numismatic Chronicle* 1965, 137–148.
[51] Joe Cribb, "New evidence for Indo-Parthian Political History," *Coin Hoards* 7 (1985): 282–297.

Early Rulers of Bactria after the Fall of the Indo-Greeks

In the period between the overthrow of the Greek kings of Bactria and the rise of the Kuṣāṇa confederacy there were several series of local coins:

(1) Imitation Heliocles copper tetradrachms and drachms copying the silver tetradrachms and drachms of the Bactrian king Heliocles I. The reverse type of the Greek king had been the standing figure of a classical Zeus, holding a scepter in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right, with his head bare. On the copies the portrait of the king and the figure of Zeus become progressively cruder and Zeus comes to be shown with a radiate head, that is, he has become Zeus—Mithra (Fig. 9.77). The next reverse type in this coinage is a riderless horse (Fig. 9.78). This was a solar symbol in central Asia. It occurs in the currency of the Surkhandaria valley north of Termez and the country round Shakhrinau and Dushanbe.[52]

(2) Imitation Eucratides' tetradrachms and obols in base silver, copying the same denominations of the helmeted Greek king Eucratides and their reverse types. They have been specially found in the Vakhsh valley north of the Amu Daria River.

(3) Base silver tetradrachms and obols (c. 52% silver) of the early Kuṣāṇa clan chief Heraus. He has the reverse type of a horseman being crowned by a flying Nike (Figs. 9.79 and 9.80), a typical Parthian motif.

(4) Base silver hemi-drachms (27–42 % silver) and obols of Sapadbizes. The king wears a helmet as Eucratides. The reverse type is a lion (the vehicle of Nanā) with a crescent moon above and the legend NANAIA (Fig. 9.81).

(5) Base silver hemi-drachms of Phseigacharis with the reverse type of Hercules with a lion skin and a club (Fig. 9.82).

[52] B.J. Staviskij *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, (Paris, 1986), fig. 11 and 135.

In conclusion

In his account of the battle of the Hydaspes when Porus opposed the advance of Alexander, Quintus Curtius reports that a statue of Hercules was carried at the head of the Indian infantry.[53] It is most unlikely to have been the image of a Greek god and it must have been an Indian divinity with warlike qualities. Bandarkar suggested Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa whereas Coomaraswamy[54] thought it might be Śiva. This reminds us of the general Greek practice of applying the names of Greek gods to foreign divinities with similar roles, even though they may have a very different ancestry. Artemis usually came to mean the Asiatic mother goddess in one of her numerous forms.[55] The nature goddess worshipped at Ephesus became Artemis of the Ephesians. Nanā, the composite nature goddess who had apparently developed out of the ancient Mesopotamian cult of the Lady of Heaven (Innana-Ishtar), was called both Nanaia and Artemis in inscriptions from the third century B.C. temple complex at Dura-Europus, as in classical literature.[56] The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Kommagene at Nimrud Dagh[57] goes further and the long inscription in the sanctuary gives the composite names of the three divinities portrayed as his divine companions:—(1) Zeus-Ahura Mazda (2) Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes and (3) Hercules-Artagnes-Ares.

With very few exceptions, coin types before the Kuṣāṇa period have no legends recording the names of the gods they portray and it is only by their distinctive attributes and poses that they can be identified. A mint engraver must give a divinity syncretic attributes before the figure can be positively identified as syncretic. This does not, however, alter the basic fact that a classical figure of Zeus, the Greek king of the gods would also be king of the gods to an Indian and so be "Indra" to him. Above all it must be remembered that coinage is the prerogative of the government of the day responsible for the issue and a certain ambiguity about the significance of coin types may well be deliberate.

[53] Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, viii, xiv, 11.
[54] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (London, 1927), fn. 42
[55] Banerjea 1956, 89.
[56] Tarn 1951, 115.
[57] Rosenfield 1967, 165–167.

Throughout the period under review we can distinguish several stages of development. The types of Alexander the Great's imperial coinage were deliberately chosen to create a Pan-Hellenic character and the Seleucids continued this tradition. The Greek kings of Bactria, who were fiercely Greek in spirit, limited their use of deities as coin types to the great Greek gods and classical representations of them. The Greek kings who conquered India initially considered representing some Indian gods in anthropomorphic form, but did not proceed with the experiment. They developed instead a series of animal types, the *vahanas* of some Indian gods, and produced some syncretic deities such as Apollo-Sol, Zeus-Indra and Zeus-Mithra. The Indo-Scythians retained much of the Indo-Greek repertoire but added some new Indian and Iranian deities in Greek dress. The collapse of the silver denominations however with the Great Debasement led to the abandonment of the copper denominations that had provided the small change. The much larger Indo-Parthian empire inherited a very limited and largely fossilised pattern of coinage with few reverse types which were retained with very little change.

APPENDIX
PRINCIPAL COIN TYPES

	Silver	*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
GREEK KINGS OF BACTRIA					
Diodotus I and II	Zeus hurling a thunderbolt	11	Head of Zeus	Artemis	
			Head of Hercules	Athena standing	
Euthydemus I	Hercules seated on rocks	12	Head of Hercules	Horse (of Poseidon)	13
Demetrius I	Hercules crowning self	14	Gorgon Shield (of Athena)	Trident (of Poseidon)	
			Elephant Head	Caduceus (of Hermes)	
			Head of Hercules	Artemis	15
Euthydemus II	Hercules standing	16	Head of Apollo	Tripod (Apollo)	17
Pantaleon/Agathocles	Zeus holding Hecate	18	Head of Dionysus	Panther	19
Antimachus I	Poseidon standing	20	Elephant	Nike	
Eucratides I	2 Dioscuri riding	21	Head of King	2 Dioscuri riding	
	2 caps of Dioscuri		–	2 caps of Dioscuri	
Demetrius II	Athena standing	22	–	–	
Eucratides II	Apollo standing	23	–	–	
Plato	Helios in chariot		–	–	
Heliocles I	Zeus standing		–	–	
GREEK KINGS OF INDIA					
Antimachus Theos	–		Elephant standing	Aegis	24
Agathocles	Saṁkarṣaṇa/Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa	25	Yakṣī or Subhadrā	Lion	26
			Caitya	Tree in Railing	27

Table (*Cont.*)

	Silver	*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
Apollodotus I	Elephant/Bull	28, 29	Apollo standing	Tripod (of Apollo)	30
Antimachus II	Nike standing/Horseman	31	Aegis(of Zeus)	Wreath and palm	
Eucratides I	Bust of King/2 Dioscuri standing		Bust of King	2 Dioscuri on horseback	32
Menander	Bust of Athena—Owl (of Athena)		Head of Athena	Gorgon shield (of Athena)	
			“	Owl (of Athena)	
	Bust of King—Athena thundering	33	Bull’s Head	Tripod (of Apollo)	
			Elephant	Elephant goad	34
			Elephant head	Club (of Hercules)	35
			Head of King	Athena thundering	36
			“	Nike	
			“	Galloping Horse	
			Boar’s head	Palm	
			Chakra (wheel)	Palm	
Eucratides III			Bust of King	Enthroned Tyche	37
Zoilus I	Bust of King—Hercules standing		Bust of King	Club and bow case	
Strato I	“ Athena thundering	38	Bust of Apollo	Bow case (of Apollo)	
			Bust of Hercules	Nike	
			Apollo standing	Tripod (of Apollo)	
Lysias	“ Hercules standing		Bust of Hercules	Elephant	
Antialcidas	“ Zeus enthroned	39	Bust of Zeus	2 caps of Dioscuri	40
Diomedes	“ 2 Dioscuri standing		2 Dioscuri standing	Bull	

Table (*Cont.*)

	Silver		*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
Heliocles II	Bust of King	Zeus radiate standing with thunderbolt	41	Bust of King	Elephant	
				Elephant	Bull	
				Bust of Athena	Aegis	
Polyxenus	"	Athena thundering		Demeter	Bull	
Philoxenus	"	King on horseback		Apollo standing	Nike	
Demetrius III	"	Zeus standing		Bust of King	Thunderbolt	
Amyntas	"	Zeus radiate enthroned with Nike		Bust of Zeus—Mithra radiate	Athena standing	
Epander	"	Athena thundering		Nike	Bull	
Theophilus	"	Hercules		Bust of Hercules	Cornucopia (of Demeter)	
				"	Club (of Hercules)	
Peucolaus	"	Zeus		Artemis standing	City goddess	
Thrason	"	Athena thundering		–		
Nicias	"	Athena thundering		Bust of Poseidon	Anchor and dolphin	
				Bust of King	King on horseback	
Menander Dikaios	"	Nike		Athena standing	Lion	
	"	Horseman		Armed warrior	Lion	
		Zeus enthroned				
Artemidorus	"	Artemis and bow	42	Artemis	Bull	
	"	Nike		"	Lion	
Archebius	"	Zeus radiate thundering	43	Nike	Owl (of Athena)	
				Elephant	"	
				Bust of Zeus—Mithra	2 caps of Dioscuri	

Table (*Cont.*)

	Silver		*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
Hermaeus and Calliope	Jugate busts	King on horseback				
Hermaeus	Bust of King	Zeus radiate enthroned	44	Bust of Zeus—Mithra	Horse	
	King on horseback	“				
Telephus	Sea monster	Sun and Moon	45	Zeus enthroned	Male figure w. lance	
					Male figure crouching	
Apollodotus II	Bust of King	Athena thundering		Apollo	Tripod (of Apollo)	
				Bull	“	
				Apollo standing	“	
Hippostratus	“	Tyche standing		Apollo	Tripod (of Apollo)	
				Zeus enthroned	Horse standing	
				Marine monster	Tyche	
Dionysius	“	King on horseback				
	“	Athena thundering				
Zoilus IV	“	“		Apollo	Tripod (of Apollo)	
				“	Elephant	
Apollophanes	“	“		–		
Strato II	“	“		Apollo	Tripod (of Apollo)	

Table (*Cont.*)

		Silver		*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
INDO-SCYTHIAN KINGS							
Maues	(i)	as King			Elephant head	Caduceus	46
					Horse	Bow case	47
	(ii)	as King of Kings					
		Zeus with sceptre	Nike	48	Apollo standing	Tripod (of Apollo)	
					Radiate Artemis	Bull	62
		Helios in chariot	Zeus	49	Lunar goddess standing	Nike	
			enthroned	50	Balarāma standing	Goddess with fillet	63
		Tyche enthroned	Zeus	51	Radiate Artemis	Bull	
			Nikephorus	52	Enthroned Zeus with boy	Tyche	64
					Deity with elephant goad	Aegis	
					Mounted King	Tyche with wheel	65
					Poseidon with foot on small figure	Yakṣī	66
Azilises		Enthroned Zeus	2 Dioscuri on Horseback	53	Warrior	Goddess with wreath	
		Zeus Nikephorus standing	Warrior standing	54	Tyche holding club	Lamp goddess	
		Horseman with whip	Tyche & Zeus standing	55	Hercules holding club	Horse	

Table (*Cont.*)

	Silver		*Plate Fig.*	*Copper*		*Plate Fig.*
	Horseman with whip	Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī	56	Elephant	Bull	
	Horseman with spear	Lamp goddess		Hephaistus (or Atar)	Lion	
Azes I	Horseman with spear	Athena	57	Horseman with spear	Bull	
	"	Zeus standing	58	Poseidon	Yakṣī	
	"	Lamp goddess		King mounted	Hercules	
Azes II	Horseman with whip	Athena	59	Elephant	Bull	67
	"	Zeus Nikephorus	60	Tyche enthroned	Hermes standing	68
	"	Zeus standing	61	Bull	Lion	69
				Seated King	Hermes	70
Jihonika	"	Tyche		Elephant	Bull	

INDO-PARTHIAN KINGS

ARIA	ARACHOSIA	PAROPAMIS ADAE	MID-INDUS	BAJAUR	GANDHĀRA	TAXILA	SAGALA
Bust of King	Bust of King	Bust of King	Horseman with whip	Horseman with whip	Horseman with whip	Horseman with whip	Bust of King
Seated archer	Nike Fig. 9.71	Nike	Śiva Fig. 9.72	Pallas Fig. 9.73	Zeus standing R. Fig. 9.74	Zeus Nikephorus Fig. 9.75	crude Pallas Fig. 9.76
				Itravasu Aspavarma	Aspavarma	Aspavarma	Rajuvula
Gondophares I	Gondophares I	Gondophares I	Gondophares I	Gondophares I	Gondophares I	–	Gondophares I
Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases	–	–	Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases
Sases	Sases	–	–	–	Sases	Sases	Sases
Later Indo-Parthians	Later Indo-Parthians	(Kujūla Kuṣāṇa)	–	–	(Soter Megas Kuṣāṇa)	(Kujūla Kuṣāṇa)	Later Indo-Parthians

CHAPTER TEN

DYNASTIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CONNECTIONS IN THE PRE- AND EARLY KUṢĀṆA PERIOD: NEW MANUSCRIPT AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Richard Salomon

Introductory remarks

In this paper I will discuss some historical and epigraphical issues concerning two important dynasties of the pre-Kuṣāṇa period in the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. The dynasties in question are the Apraca-rājas and the Oḍi-rājas, and the aim is to specify, as far as possible, their chronological, geographical and cultural contexts and relationships. It is my hope that the conclusions presented here, tentative though they are, may be of some use to art historians in their attempts to trace the historical and cultural background of Buddhist art of this period. And although I will not discuss art history as such, this being beyond my range of expertise, I do venture to present, in the last part of this paper, one example of how the epigraphical data may be applied to art historical issues in the period in question.

The Apraca-rājas, their territories, and their capital

The main obstacle to reconstructing the history of the Apraca-rājas and the Oḍi-rājas is that nearly all of their inscriptions have come to light on the antiquities market, rather than as a result of documented archaeological investigations, so that their provenances are either unknown or known only through indirect reports or rumors of doubtful reliability. Thus in the case of the Kings of Apraca, although we now have fifteen inscriptions from or associated with their realm,[1] we are in the peculiar situation of not knowing with

[1] See the list of inscriptions (part A) at the end of this paper.

certainty where their kingdom was located, even though we know, relatively speaking, quite a lot about its dynastic history.

From these inscriptions we learn that the Apraca-rājas (in the original Gāndhārī language of the inscriptions concerned, *apraca-, apaca-*, or *avaca-raya*) or kings of Apraca were a prosperous Indo-Scythian dynasty which was probably allied with or subordinate to the empire of Azes and his successors, at least during the earlier part of their history. We also know that the Apraca kings ruled as semi-independent kings from some time in the latter half of the first century B.C. until about the second quarter of the first century A.D. The founder of the dynasty was evidently one Vijayamitra, who is first mentioned in the Shinkot reliquary inscription (ins. A-2 in the list of inscriptions), but the early sequence and chronology of the early kings of the Apraca line are still quite uncertain.[2] The names of many of his successors and affiliates are known from the later inscriptions. The prince (*kumara*) Indravarma [I] and his wife Uttarā (*utara*) are particularly well represented among them, and their inscriptions (inss. A-3, 4, 5, 7, 14) show them to have been enthusiastic patrons of the Buddhist relic cult at some unknown *stūpa* site or sites. Particularly noteworthy among these is the stone reliquary of Uttarā (ins. A-5), in which the incised letters were inlaid with gold, the only specimen of this technique known among comparable inscriptions.[3] On the basis of his stone reliquary dated in the Azes year 63 (ins. A-3), equivalent to 5 A.D., Indravarma [I] can be securely placed around the beginning of the first century A.D.[4] The important issue of

[2] For a recent discussion of this problem in light of newly discovered materials, see Richard Salomon, "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription," in *Afghanistan: Ancien Carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, eds. Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (*Indicopleustoi*: Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean 3: Turnhout, 2005), 378–383.

[3] See Richard Salomon, "Three Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscriptions in the Institute of Silk Road Studies," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9 (2003a): 55–6 and figs. 29–30.

[4] The complicated and controversial details of the history, genealogy and chronology of the Apraca-rājas will not be discussed here; see, among the more recent discussions, Akira Sadakata, "Avacha ōke no keizu/The Family Tree of the Avacarājas," in *Indo tetsugaku to bukkyō: Fujita Kotatsu hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū/Indian Philosophy and Buddhism: Essays in Honour of Professor Kotatsu Fujita on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Kyoto, 1989), 211–224; Richard Salomon, "An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996a): 418–452; Harry Falk, "Notes on Some Apraca Dedicatory Texts," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 11 (1998): 85–108; and Richard Salomon 2005 (see n. 2), 378–383. It should be noted that Falk (1998, 89–90) has conclusively proven that

whether all of the persons referred to as Vijayamitra and Indravarma in the various Apraca inscriptions refer to the same individuals or whether there rather were multiple holders of these names in the Apraca lineage remains problematic, but recent discoveries strengthen the arguments in favor of the latter alternative.[5]

The only one of the fifteen Apraca-rāja inscriptions for which we have a reasonably trustworthy provenance report, and the first to have been discovered, is the aforementioned Shinkot inscription of the time of Vijayamitra (ins. A-2). It is said to have come from "Shinkot in Bajaur territory . . . about twenty miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and Swat Rivers, beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province, where the casket was discovered by some tribal people while digging the foundations of a new fort."[6] The Shinkot site has been briefly described by Saeed-ur-Rehman, who notes "traces of a fortification wall" with "constructional technique employed in periods earlier than Indo-Greek patronage."[7] Saeed-ur-Rehman's survey of Shinkot also yielded many potsherds, and it was reported that "a large number of broken sculptures were recovered from ancient walls by the villagers."[8] As far as I am aware, this is the only published source of archaeological information on this potentially important site.

Beyond the name of the early Apraca king Vijayamitra in the Shinkot inscription, very little was known about the dynasty until the publication by H.W. Bailey in 1978 of two reliquaries from the time of the later Apracas (inss. A-3 and 8),[9] although the *stratega* (Commander) Aśpavarma, son of Indravarma and a member of the later Apraca line, had already been known from coins and from an inscription (ins. A-15) excavated by John Marshall at Taxila. Despite the title of Bailey's 1978 article ("Two Kharoṣṭhī Casket Inscriptions

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the "Bhagamoya" referred to in several earlier publications on the Apracas is a ghost name based on a misreading, and that no such person existed.

[5] See the discussions in Falk 1998 (see n. 4), 103–107 and Salomon 2005 (see n. 2), 378–383.

[6] N.G. Majumdar, "The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander," *Epigraphia Indica* 24 (1937): 1.

[7] Saeed-ur-Rehman, "The Archaeological Exploration in Bajaur Agency," in *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhara 1996*, ed. Saeed-ur-Rehman (Karachi, 1996), 137.

[8] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996, 137.

[9] H.W. Bailey, "Two Kharoṣṭhī Casket Inscriptions from Avaca," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1978: 3–13.

from Avaca"), there is no reliable information about the original findspot of these inscriptions. Bailey evidently presumed that they were from Bajaur because of their apparent relationship with the Shinkot inscription, and perhaps also because he believed that the term *apraca/apaca/avaca* associated with these rulers may underlie the modern name of Bajaur,[10] although this derivation has since been questioned by Fussman.[11]

The same uncertainty about provenance unfortunately also surrounds most of the other Apraca inscriptions that have come to light since 1978, although very tentative provenances may be cited for a few of these. The water-pot dedicated by Vāsavadattā (ins. A-6), who may be the sister of the Apraca prince Indravarma, apparently came from Haḍḍa in Nangrahar Province, Afghanistan or from some nearby place;[12] the seal inscription of Indravarma (ins. A-13) was said to come from Bajaur;[13] and the silver scroll inscription of Uttarā (ins. A-4) was reported to have come from the area of Birkot in the lower Swat Valley.[14]

Thus, all things considered, the best guess is that the territory of the Apraca-rājas probably did consist of, or at least included what is now the Bajaur Agency of Pakistan, adjoining the border with Afghanistan. Although we have definite evidence that a silver saucer (ins. A-15) which belonged to or was donated by the late Apraca Commander Aśpavarma was found in Taxila, this does not mean that Taxila was part of the Apraca territory, since Aśpavarma's presence there may simply reflect his alliance with or subordination to the contemporary ruler (possibly Azes II or Jihonika) of Taxila. If Vāsavadattā, the donor of an inscribed pot (ins. A-6), was in fact the same person as the Vāsavadattā who was the sister of the Apraca prince Indravarma,[15] and if that pot really is from Haḍḍa, this would suggest that the Apracas at least had access to the ancient Nagarāhāra

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[10] Bailey 1978, 10.

[11] Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions śaka: Ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniṣka," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient* 67 (1980): 13.

[12] Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (London/Seattle, 1999), 20–21, 185–186.

[13] Richard Salomon, Pierfrancesco Callieri, and Simon Schmitt, "An Inscribed Seal of Indravarma, King of Avaca," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 13 (1999): 15.

[14] Richard Salomon, "Another Reliquary Inscription of the Apraca Princess Uttarā," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 11 (1997): 183–184.

[15] On Vāsavadattā, sister of Indravarma, see the comments in n. 42 below.

region (modern Nangrahar), which, like Taxila, might have been under the control of allied Śaka kings at the time. It is even not totally out of the question that Nagarāhāra was directly under the control of the Apracas, since we have no direct record of the political situation of this region in the period concerned.

Even if we are correct to assume that the Apracas ruled in and around Bajaur, we can only make random guesses as to exactly where their capital was located, and, more importantly, where the other Apraca inscriptions came from. Saeed-ur-Rehman's recent report[16] gives us for the first time a survey of archaeological sites in Bajaur, and although the descriptions of the numerous sites are sketchy, the report does provide hints of the archaeological richness of this region, about which in the past we have had virtually no information. This survey mentions several sites which seem to be major *stūpas* or *stūpa* complexes and which could have yielded inscribed reliquaries of the type which have been appearing on the antiquities market in recent decades. For example, Kotkai in Barang Tehsil is described as an "extensive area" with "the remains of a vast Buddhist Stupa Complex and an adjacent monastery" and is said to be "largest in extent than any other *stupa* site, hitherto surveyed in the neighbouring zones."[17] Several promising sites are reported in Nawagai Tehsil, for example Badshahi Ghat, described as "remains of a complete city site" with "residential rooms, stupas & adjacent monastic areas" and "the remains of huge stupas," and Swara Gata, a "vast Stupa Complex."[18] The same survey also refers to sites from which reliquaries and other important remains were alleged to have been removed, for example Kherai in Salarzai Tehsil, where "treasure hunters…were reported to have had taken away the relic casket and a gigantic hoard of sculptures."[19]

Any of these or many other Buddhist sites in Bajaur could have been a source of the inscribed reliquaries of the Apraca-rājas, but there is unfortunately little prospect of ever positively identifying the provenance of these inscriptions, since most of these sites have been badly damaged by looting. Swara Gata, for example, is reported to

[16] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996 (see n. 7).
[17] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996, 126.
[18] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996, 145 and 150.
[19] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996, 154.

have "suffered serious devastation due to clandestine activity of the local people."[20] Moreover, the difficult political situation and limited economic resources make it unlikely that systematic excavations will be possible in Bajaur in the foreseeable future, despite the urgency of preserving any remaining sites that hopefully are still more or less intact.

There is, however, an internal clue to the provenance of some of the Apraca-rāja and related inscriptions, in that several of them contain what seem to be variant forms of the same toponym. This word appears, for example, in the inscription on the ornate stone reliquary donated by Princess Uttarā (ins. A-5) in the phrase *imu thubu pratiṭhaveti apratiṭha(*vi)da-provami pradeśami tramaṇospami*,[21] "establishes this stūpa in a previously unestablished place at Tramaṇospa." In a duplicate set of identical inscriptions on a silver and a gold scroll, we find a reference to a relic foundation at a place with a somewhat similar name in a phrase which I previously read as *śari[ra] praeṭhavedi [ba]manosami śilastabhami*, "establish the body-relic at [Ba]manosa, in a stone pillar."[22] But in light of the material now available I would prefer to read the name of the location of the foundation as *[ta]manosami*, "at [Ta]manosa," since, as noted there,[23] the reading was uncertain due to the similarity in some varieties of Kharoṣṭhī script of the consonants *t* and *b*.

In the same article,[24] I pointed out that a similar word also appears in two other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The reliquary inscription of Kopśaka concludes with the phrase *dadhuve pratiṭhaveti tramaṇe*,[25] which I proposed to translate "establishes the relics at Tramaṇa," taking the last word as a toponym (although Fussman interpreted it differently). Also in the reliquary of Traṣaka we find the word *trama* in an obscure

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[20] Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996, 150.

[21] Previously (in Richard Salomon, "The Reliquary Inscription of Utara: A New Source for the History of the Kings of Apraca," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31 [1988]: 170) I read this word as *tvamaṇospami*, but I now prefer to read the first syllable as *tra*, partly on the grounds of the parallels found in other inscriptions discovered since that time; see Richard Salomon, "Five Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 10 (1996b): 234. See also the revised reading of this inscription in Salomon 2003a (see n. 3), 55.

[22] Salomon 1996b, 233 and 236.

[23] Salomon 1996b, 234.

[24] Salomon 1996b, 234–235.

[25] Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (II)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient* 73 (1984): 45.

context,[26] but it is not impossible that here too it refers to the same toponym.

Finally, the so-called Aśo-raya inscription[27] on the halo of a standing Buddha figure in the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum in Kamakura, Japan (Figs. 10.1–4)[28] opens with what seems to be a similar toponym. Bailey read the beginning of the inscription as *dhramatiṭhaṇa-ṇagaraṃmi dhamara'i'aṃmi aśo-raya-pra'iṭhividami*, "In the city (*nagara-*) Dharmātiṣṭhāna at the Dharma-rājikā- (*stūpa-*) established by Aśoka-rāja . . ."[29] However, the published photographs of the inscription show quite clearly that the reading should be *[tra]matithaṇa-ṇagaraṃmi dhamaraïaṃmi aśoraya-praïstavidami*, "In the Dharmarājikā [stūpa] established by King Aśo(ka) at the capital city Trama."[30] The first syllable of the inscription is clearly not *dhra* as read by Bailey, but rather *tra*, or possibly *dra* (these two syllables being barely distinguished, or even identical in many Kharoṣṭhī hands).

The word *trama-* calls to mind the aforementioned toponym Trama/Tramaṇa/Tamaṇospa/Tramaṇospa, but here for the first time this name is further characterized as *-(a)tithaṇa-ṇagara*. Regarding *atithaṇa*, Bailey commented "*adhiṣṭāṇa-* written with *ati-* for *adhi-* 'superior'; elsewhere Khotanese has . . . *adiṣṭāṇä* and al-Bairūnī *addišťān* for the capital city of a country."[31] Although the term *adhiṣṭāna* or its several possible Gāndhārī equivalents has not, to my knowledge, previously been observed in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it is well attested in

[26] Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (III)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient* 74 (1985a): 38, 41.

[27] This designation was introduced by H.W. Bailey in "Two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1982): 149. For convenience's sake, I will hereafter refer to the statue in question, which will be discussed further in the last section of this paper, as the "Aśo-raya Buddha."

[28] The sculpture and inscription have been illustrated in Bailey 1982, 143; Yamato Bunkakan, *Gandāra no chōkoku: Tōyō no kotenteki ningenzō no genryū: Kaikan 25-shūnen kinen tokubetsuten/Gandhara Sculpture from Japanese Collection: Special Exhibition of Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan* [exh. cat., Yamato Bunkakan] (Nara, 1985), 21 and 48 (no. 43); and Institute of Silk Road Studies, *Budda no shōgai to gandāra o meguru hitobito: Hirayama Ikuo korekushon/The Gandhāran Buddhist Sculpture and the Peoples of the Silk Road: The Hirayama Ikuo Collection* [exh. cat., Institute of Silk Road Studies] (Tokyo 2003), 69 (fig. 101).

[29] Bailey 1982, 149.

[30] These corrections were brought to my attention by my student Paul Cooper. For further details, see the full text and translation of the Aśo-raya inscription presented in the appendix to this article.

[31] Bailey 1982, 149.

later Sanskrit inscriptions in the sense of "city," especially "capital, administrative headquarters, seat of government."[32]

Regarding the spelling of the term in question as *atithaṇa* instead of the expected *adhithaṇa* or *adhiṭhaṇa*, Bailey's offhand remark (cited above) "*ati*- for *adhi*-" can be supported by similar alternations between the prefixes *ati*- and *adhi*- elsewhere in Gāndhārī, which are not out of keeping with the phonological and orthographic peculiarities of this language. For example, in a manuscript in the Senior collection of Gāndhārī scrolls we find *aṣ̱imahaḋaro* as the parallel for Pali **atima-hantataro*.[33] Here, as normally, Gāndhārī *ṣ̱* is the reflex of an original (i.e., Old Indo-Aryan) intervocalic *dh*; that is to say, Gāndhārī *aṣ̱imahaḋaro* is equivalent to a hypothetical Sanskrit **adhimahattaraḥ*, with *adhi* used as the equivalent of *ati*, "more, extremely." In Gāndhārī *atithaṇa* in place of the familiar Sanskrit *adhiṣṭhāna*, we have the converse manifestation of the same pattern of alternation; compare also the similar alternation in Gāndhārī, attested in inscriptions, between the prefixes *api*- and *abhi*-.[34]

Moreover, although the commonest reflex in Gāndhārī of Sanskrit *ṣṭh* is *ṭh* or *ṭ́h*, the *tha* (not *ṭha* as read by Bailey) in *atithaṇa* = *adhiṣṭhāna* is justifiable by similar forms derived from the root *sthā* such as *pratithavito* = Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpita*- in the Taxila vase inscription.[35] Thus the relevant phonetic and lexical parallels in Gāndhārī and Sanskrit clearly support the interpretation of the subcompound *atithaṇa-ṇagara* as "capital city."

Therefore the Aśo-raya Buddha inscription indicates that a city called Trama, which is likely to be the same place referred to in other inscriptions as Trama, Tramaṇa, Tamaṇosa, or Tramaṇospa, was a capital city or major administrative center (*atithaṇa*/*adhiṣṭhāna*) sometime during the first two centuries of the Christian era. Although only one of the inscriptions in which these toponyms appear, namely Uttarā's stone reliquary (ins. A-5), is explicitly an Apraca inscription,

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[32] See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1966), 7 and references given there.

[33] See Richard Salomon, "The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (2003b): 89.

[34] See Richard Salomon, "The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29 (1986): 277.

[35] Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 2.1; Calcutta, 1929), 87.

it is not at all out of the question that Trama(ṇa) was the capital of the Apracas, especially since, for reasons which will be discussed in the last part of this paper, the personal names and other features of the inscription on the Aśo-raya Buddha provide further grounds for associating this city with the Apracas and their contemporaries or successors.

As to where this hypothetical capital of the Apracas was actually located, we are unfortunately in the dark; for the time being, we can only guess that it is likely to have been somewhere in Bajaur. I have not succeeded in identifying any toponym in or around modern Bajaur that could be derived from an ancient name like Trama/Tramaṇa/Tamaṇosa/Tramaṇospa, but since so many of the ancient toponyms of the northwest have been replaced by Pashtu and Islamic names in later centuries, this is hardly surprising.

Thus all that we can conclude with any confidence is that there was an important Buddhist site of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. at a place known as Trama, Tramaṇa, etc., which was most likely in Bajaur, and which may have been the capital of the Apraca-rājas. The unknown location of Trama(ṇa) very likely is, or perhaps rather was before it was plundered, a major archaeological site, and some, perhaps many of the Apraca inscriptions which have appeared on the antiquities market in recent decades may have come from there. Moreover, if I am correct in speculating that the Aśo-raya Buddha also came from the same place, then the site also produced mature specimens of Gandhāran sculpture, and was presumably not an obscure provincial outpost. This is indicated, not only by the sculpture itself, but also by the excellent quality of the inscription on its halo. For this inscription, unlike many Kharoṣṭhī dedicatory inscriptions,[36] is written in an graceful and expert hand, providing a fine example of Kharoṣṭhī calligraphy (Figs. 10.2–4). The outstanding quality of the inscription strengthens the impression that we are dealing with the sophisticated product of a cosmopolitan center.

The fact that Uttarā's stone reliquary (ins. A-5) records the dedication of a *stūpa* in "a previously unestablished place at Tramaṇospa" (*apratiṭha(*vi)da-provami pradeśami tramaṇospami*) need not be taken to mean that the city of Tramaṇospa as such was a "previously unestablished

[36] Contrast, for example, the much more crudely written inscription on the halo of the seated Buddha figure illustrated in Gérard Fussman, "Deux dédicaces kharoṣṭhī," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient* 74 (1985b): pl. V.

place," that is, a place where no Buddhist monuments were present. Rather, the reference is probably to a particular location in or near Tramaṇospa where no *stūpa* had previously been built. In fact, the reference in the Aśo-raya inscription to a Dharmarājika [*stūpa*] erected by King Aśoka (*dharmaraïaṃmi aśoraya-praïstavidamï*) at the capital city Trama means that this place was, or at least was perceived to be, an old and established Buddhist site already at the time of this inscription.

The Oḍi-rājas and their connections with the Apraca-rājas

Although the Oḍi-rājas (Gāndhārī *oḍi-raya*) or kings of Oḍi are so far known from only three inscriptions,[37] in contrast to the fifteen of the Apraca-rājas, we are somewhat better informed as to their territory. This is mostly due to the fact that the toponym Oḍi can be securely linked to the modern town of Odigram (i.e., Oḍigrām; also spelled Udigram, etc.) in lower Swat,[38] whose name in turn is probably derived from or at least related to *Uḍḍīyāna*, the ancient name of the Swat Valley. The inscription of Senavarma (ins. B-3) was found on a piece of gold leaf inside a large *stūpa* model which is rumored to have come from Najigram, an important stūpa site in lower Swat not far from modern Odigram, and although as usual this report cannot be reliably confirmed, it is consistent with the hypothesis that the Oḍi-rājas ruled in lower Swat.

Unlike some of the Apraca inscriptions, which are dated in years of the well-known Azes/Vikrama era of 58/7 B.C., the inscriptions of the Oḍi-rājas are dated in what appear to be either regnal years or years of their own, otherwise unknown dynastic era.[39] However, their chronological position can be at least approximately fixed by a reference in Senavarma's inscription. This inscription, dated in the year fourteen, refers to a contemporary prince named Sadaṣkaṇa, the son of the Great King, the King of Kings Kujula Kadphises (*maharaja-rayatiraya-kuyula-kataphsa-putro sadaṣkaṇo devaputro*; line 8g). Although the exact date of Kujula Kadphises, the first Kuṣāṇa king of India, remains unsure, this reference does suffice to locate Senavarma

[37] See the list of inscriptions (B).
[38] Salomon 1986 (see n. 34), 290.
[39] See Salomon 2003a (see n. 3), 48–50.

sometime in the earlier part of the first century A.D., and the Oḍi-rājas in general to the period around the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. This timeframe makes them close contemporaries, as well as probably neighbors, of the Apraca-rājas.

Although we have no direct evidence of dynastic connections between the Kings of Oḍi and of Apraca, one of the inscribed pots in the collection of the British Library (ins. A-6) suggests a possible marital alliance between them.[40] This inscription states that the pot was donated by one Vāsavadattā (*va[sa]vadatae*), the wife of Susoma or Suhasoma (*susomasa/suhasomasa*). I have pointed out elsewhere[41] that Vāsavadattā was the name of one of the sisters[42] of the Apraca prince Indravarma mentioned in his reliquary of the year A.D. 5 (ins. A-3), while Suhasoma is also the name of one of the officials associated with the Oḍi-rāja Senavarma in his inscription (ins. B-3, line 9a). This record of the marriage of a Vāsavadattā and a Suhasoma thus may constitute evidence of a marital alliance between the Kings of Apraca and Oḍi.[43] Although it is of course possible that either or both of the names in the British Library pot inscription refer to other individuals whose names happened to match those recorded in the inscriptions of Indravarma and Senavarma, I nevertheless think it likely that they are in fact the same individuals, especially since neither name is known to occur in any other contemporary inscriptions.[44]

If this is correct, we can imagine a situation in which the kings of Oḍi and Apraca were ruling as allied powers in the territories to the north and northwest, respectively, of Gandhāra proper in the early first century A.D. If the inscribed pot bearing the names of Vāsavadattā and Suhasoma was actually found at or near Haḍḍa,

[40] Salomon 1999 (see n. 12), 198–199 (pot A, ins. 2).

[41] Salomon 1999, 152–153.

[42] Falk 1998 (see n. 4), 100–101 thinks that Vāsadattā was Indravarma's wife, rather than his sister, on the basis of a different interpretation of the relevant phrase (*sadha śpasadarehi vasavadatae* . . .; line 5) in Indravarma's reliquary, but I do not find his suggestion convincing.

[43] Salomon 1999, 153 n. 27.

[44] It should be noted, however, that this interpretation is not accepted by all authorities. See, for example, Harry Falk's review of Salomon 1999 in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (2000): 211, wherein he doubts the identity of the Vāsavadattās mentioned in the two inscriptions in question.

which is likely though not certain, this would imply that the Nagarāhāra region in what is now Afghanistan, that is, the territory to the west of Gandhāra proper, was also under the power of or at least within the sphere of influence of these Śaka allies. To my knowledge there are no inscriptional records from Nagarāhāra which clearly indicate who the ruling power was during the period in question, but we can reasonably assume that it was one of the Śaka dynasties connected with the house of Azes, and that its allies, including the Apraca and Oḍi kings, would have had access to the region for purposes of religious pilgrimage and patronage.

In this connection it is interesting that some of the avadāna manuscripts among the British Library Gāndhārī scrolls, which are believed to come from the Haḍḍa area, and which have recently revealed to us for the first time the wealth of Gandhāran Buddhist literature, contain references to two historical personages from these very circles, namely the Great Satrap Jihoniga (*jihonige mahakṣatra(*pe)*) and the Commander (?) Aśpavarma (*aśpavarmano sa [stra](*tega?)*.[45] The latter reference is particularly important for the present discussion, since Aśpavarma has long been known from coins and inscriptions as a scion of the Apraca line, the son of Prince Indravarma. Although the contexts of these unexpected references to contemporary historical figures in the fragmentary scrolls are not entirely clear, they do suggest that rulers of the Śaka dynasties of Gandhāra and adjoining territories to the north were acting as patrons of Buddhist monastic establishments in Nagarāhāra. Moreover, the nexus of connections involving, on the one hand, probable references to an Apraca scion and another Śaka ruler in the British Library manuscripts and, on the other hand, mention of members of the Apraca and Oḍi families in what is probably an inscription from the same place and time (i.e., British Library pot inscription A) reveals to us, far more clearly than ever before, a flourishing Buddhist culture developing under the Śaka powers around the beginning of the Christian era. And rather than being limited, as in the past, to archaeological and art

[45] On the British Library avadānas in general, see Salomon 1999, 35–9 and Timothy Lenz, *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3; Seattle, 2003), 92–8. On the particular references in question here, see Salomon 1999, 141–149.

historical sources, the rich new discoveries of contemporary Buddhist manuscripts[46] are now beginning to illuminate the literary culture which accompanied these material manifestations.

This Gandhāran Buddhist culture of the Śaka period seems to have been focused, at least as far as its literary production was concerned, at or around Haḍḍa in Nagarāhāra, which is the probable source of many of the newly discovered Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. This would be consistent with the rich archaeological remains of this area, which, however, have reportedly been largely destroyed in recent decades. Nonetheless, we now have some insight into what seems to have been an intense intellectual activity in the monasteries around Haḍḍa, where large numbers of manuscripts, of which a few dozen have luckily survived, were being copied, studied, and stored. This Buddhist culture of the Śaka period prefigures developments during the succeeding Kuṣāṇa epoch, which until now had been somewhat better documented, so that the expansion of Buddhism under the Kuṣāṇas now appears less as a revolutionary innovation and more of a continuation of a process that was already well under way in the time of their predecessors.

Some further comments on the Aśo-raya Buddha

In conclusion, I would like to add a few comments on the possible relevance of this emerging complex of Śaka-period Gandhāran Buddhist culture to the Aśo-raya Buddha, which has already been discussed on pages 273–276. It was pointed out there that the inscription on this figure's halo refers to "the capital city Trama," giving us grounds to suspect that it came from the realm of the Apraca kings. Another feature in this inscription that suggests a general connection with the Apracas and their contemporaries is the forms of the names of the donor Momadata (i.e. *Momadattā) and her husband, the goldsmith (*suaṇakara-*)[47] Balasoma (*momadatae balasoma-bhayae suaṇakara-bhayae*, "[of]

[46] See Richard Salomon, "Gāndhārī and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages in Light of Newly Discovered Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts," in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples: Proceedings of the British Academy* 116, ed. N. Sims-Williams (Oxford, 2002), 119–134.

[47] Here *suaṇakara-* corresponds to Sanskrit *suvarṇakara-* "goldsmith"; compare *suaṇe* = *suvarṇam* "gold" in the Senavarma inscription (ins. B–3, line 14e).

Momadattā, wife of Balasoma, wife of a goldsmith").[48] With these names we can compare, for example, those of Vāsavadattā, the donor of the aforementioned British Library pot A, and her husband Susoma/Suhasoma; in both cases, we find a woman whose name ends in the suffix *-dattā* married to a man with a name in *-soma*. Moreover, there are other examples of similar nomenclature among inscriptional relics from the same cultural sphere. For example, several associated inscriptions contain names of female donors with names ending in -dattā: Viratata (Sanskrit Vīradattā),[49] the donor of British Library pot C;[50] Hastadata (Hastadattā), the donor of British Library pot E,[51] which also mentions a Gu[ha]data (Guhadattā) as one of the beneficiaries of the donation; and Khadadata (Skandhadattā), donor of a reliquary inscription of the Azes year 157.[52] These examples give us several specimens of dedicatory inscriptions on waterpots given by women with names ending in *-dattā*, most of which (except for the last one, whose provenance is unknown) may have come from Haḍḍa or nearby sites.[53] It is therefore conceivable that all of these donors with similar name elements came from same general cultural sphere of the Indian Śakas of the Apraca and Oḍi dynasties, if not from exactly the same time and place.

Another feature of the inscription on the Aśo-raya Buddha that points toward an association with the early Śaka kingdoms is the phrasing of the opening portion, *[tra]matithaṇa-ṇagaraṃmi dhamaraïaṃmi aśoraya-praïstavidami*. This is similar to the wording of a passage in one of the avadāna texts[54] (not yet published) among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, which reads *[śi]lasta[bho] dido mahapramaṇo yaṣa ṇagarami dharmaray[iga]mi [śi]lasta[bh.]* . . ., ". . . a stone pillar was given,

[48] Bailey (1982 (see n. 27), 149) interpreted this passage completely differently, translating "of the (*dara-*) wife Moma, the wife Balasoma, together with the wife Anakara," but this is based on the incorrect reading *momadarae*. In fact the fourth syllable of this word is clearly *ta* and not *ra*.

[49] The spelling in *-tata* (*viratatae*) rather than *-data* is insignificant, since in many Kharoṣṭhī documents the distinction between *t* and *d* in intervocalic position is ignored.

[50] Salomon 1999, 203–213.

[51] Salomon 1999, 217–224.

[52] Richard Salomon, "Three Dated Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 9 (1995a): 128–133.

[53] Salomon 1999, 20–21, 185–186.

[54] British Library fragment 4, part 6, verso, line 21. On the British Library avadānas, see n. 45.

of great size, like the stone pillar at the Dharmarājikā in the city" (or, ". . . in the Dharmarājika city"). While it is not clear exactly what is implied by the phrase *-ṇagaraṃmi dhamaraïaṃmi* (Aśo-raya inscription)/*ṇagarami dharmaray[iga]mi* (British Library avadāna), the juxtaposition in the two documents of the two identical (except for spelling variations) phrases, not previously recorded elsewhere as far as I am aware, is striking.

Moreover, it should be noted that the phrase in question occurs in the avadāna in connection with a story about a stone pillar (*śilastabho* = Sanskrit *śilāstambhaḥ*), an otherwise rare term in Buddhist inscriptions, which does however also occur in one of the other inscriptions discussed above which mention the toponym Trama, Tramaṇa, etc. This is the duplicate reliquary inscriptions discussed above (p. 272), reading in part . . . *śari[ra] praeṭhavedi [ta]manosami śilastabhami*, ". . . establish the body-relic at Tamanosa, in a stone pillar."

Thus it is possible to establish a loose but still significant nexus of connections between the inscriptions and textual relics of the pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist kingdoms of the Apraca and Oḍi kings and the inscription on the Aśo-raya Buddha, involving onomastic, geographic, and terminological similarities. None of this, of course, is sufficient to prove that the Aśo-raya Buddha is a product of this stage of history, and in the discussion which followed the presentation of a preliminary version of this paper at the conference whose proceedings are presented in this volume, some art historians expressed doubts about the possibility of an early (i.e., first century) date for the Aśo-raya Buddha, preferring a date in the second or even the third century A.D. Nonetheless, in light of the many uncertainties of the chronology of Gandhāran sculptures, a relatively early date for this piece should not be ruled out. Although the apparent connections of the Aśo-raya Buddha inscription with early inscriptions and documents cannot be claimed to prove an early date for it, they do suggest linkages with the pre-Kuṣāṇa world of the first century. But as to whether the image itself can be this early, I decline to give any opinion, and leave it to art historians to consider the issue further.[55]

[55] The paleographic evidence, which I feel better qualified to judge, is unfortunately inconclusive. Among the best test letters for the paleographic dating of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, *sa* in this inscription consistently has the late, open form,

However this may be, the most important and most secure linkage is the reference in the Aśo-raya Buddha inscription to a city called Trama, which is very likely the same place as Tramaṇospa where the Apraca princess Vāsavadattā made one of her relic dedications. In all likelihood, these, and probably the other inscriptions discussed in this article as well, represent the remains of what must have been an important center of Buddhist culture and worship in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods—but one which, sad to say, we are at the present time unable to locate.

but *ya* (in *aśoraya*, line 1) has the more archaic pointed top. Such mixtures of older and more developed features are not at all unusual in Kharoṣṭhī documents (see Salomon 1999, 115–9), and prevent us from assigning a firm date to the inscription, other than to say that it probably dates from the first or second centuries A.D.

Appendix: Text and translation of the "Aśo-raya" inscription
(prepared with the assistance of Paul Cooper)

1. *[tra]matithaṇa-ṇagaraṃmi dhamaraïaṃmi aśoraya-praïṣtavidami momadatae balasoma-bha-*
2. *yae suaṇakara-bhayae daṇamukhe imiṇa kuśalamuleṇa*
3. *ṣarva ṣatva ṇivaïti*
4. *para*[56]

[1–2] The gift of Momadata, wife of Balasoma, wife of a goldsmith, in the Dharmarājikā [stūpa] established by King Aśo(ka)[57] at the capital city Trama. By this root of merit, [3–4] all beings are caused to attain nirvāṇa.

[56] Here we agree with (Bailey 1982, 150) that the letters *para* written below the beginning of the third line are to be understood as an insertion meant to be read after *ṣarva ṣatva*; that is to say, the intended reading of lines 3–4 was *ṣarva ṣatva paraṇivaïti*. Bailey refers here to a parallel in the "silver bowl from Avaca," by which he apparently refers to the silver reliquary of Indravarma (ins. no. A-14), which has a similar concluding blessing, *sarva satva pariṇivaïto*, "All beings are caused to attain nirvāṇa" (Salomon 1996a (see n. 4), 428–429).

[57] *Aśo-* instead of expected *aśoka* or *aśoga* is surprising, but can be explained as an instance of the phenomenon of syllabic contraction, which is fairly well attested in Gāndhārī; see the discussion, including this example, in Mark Allon, *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 2; Seattle, 2001), 99. Alternatively, this could simply be a case of accidental scribal omission of a syllable.

List of Inscriptions[58]

A: *Inscriptions of or associated with the Apraca-rājas*

1. Dhota's reliquary inscription of the time of Prince Viṣṇuvarma: R. Salomon, "A Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscription of the Time of the Apraca Prince Viṣṇuvarma," *South Asian Studies* 11 (1995b): 27–32.
2. Shinkot reliquary inscriptions of the time of Menander and Vijayamitra, (regnal) year 5: G. Fussman, "L'indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité," *Journal Asiatique* 281 (1993): 61–137.
3. Indravarma [I]'s stone reliquary inscription, Azes year 63 ≈ A.D. 5: R. Salomon and G. Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7 (1984): 107–123.
4. Uttarā's silver scroll inscription: Salomon 1997 (see n. 14), 181–189.
5. Uttarā's stone reliquary inscription: Salomon 2003a (see n. 3), 54–57.
6. Clay pot inscription of Vāsavadattā, sister of Indravarma [I]: Salomon 1999 (see n. 12), 191–199.
7. Reliquary of Rukhuṇaka, Vijayamitra, and Indravarma [I], regnal year 27/Azes year 73/Yoṇa year 201 ≈ A.D. 15: Salomon 2005 (see n. 2).
8. Ramaka's reliquary inscription, Azes year 74 ≈ A.D. 16: Fussman 1980 (see n. 11), 5–7.
9. Ramaka's undated reliquary inscription: Fussman 1980 (see n. 11), 4–5.
10. Reliquary inscription of Kṣatrapa Śatrolika,[59] Azes year 77 ≈ A.D. 19: Falk 1998 (see n. 4), 87–99.
11. Prahodia's reliquary inscription of the (regnal) year 32 ≈ A.D.

[58] The inscriptions are listed in approximate chronological order, as far as this can be determined. References are provided for the most recent and/or definitive editions of the inscriptions. Part A of this appendix is an updated version of the corresponding lists in Salomon 1996a (see n. 4), 450–451 and 1997 (see n. 14), 190, and further references to some of these inscriptions are provided there; see also Salomon 2005 (see n. 2), 385.

The reliquary inscription of the Azes year 98 which was included in the previous lists is deleted here because it is probably a forgery.

[59] Formerly referred to, incorrectly, as the inscription of Bhagamoya; see n. 4.

20: A. Sadakata, "Quelques inscriptions kharoṣṭhī provenant du marché aux antiquités de Peshawar couverts," *Journal Asiatique* 284 (1996): 302–305.

12. Reliquary of Prince Indragivarma: Salomon 2003a (see n. 3), 51–54.
13. Seal inscription of Apraca king Indravarma: Salomon, Callieri and Schmitt 1999 (see n. 13), 15–26.
14. Indravarma [II]'s silver reliquary inscription: Salomon 1996a (see n. 4), 418–452.
15. Taxila (Sirkap) silver saucer inscription of Aśpavarma: J. Marshall, *Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila* . . . (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1951), 1.188 and 2.613.

B: *Inscriptions of the Oḍi-rājas*

1. Reliquary inscription of Ajitasena, year 4: G. Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques kouchans (IV): Ajitasena, père de Senavarma," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient* 75 (1986): 1–14.
2. Reliquary inscription of Varmasena, year 5: Salomon 2003a (see n. 3), 39–51.
3. Reliquary inscription of Senavarma, year 14: O. von Hinüber, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Senavarma-Inschrift* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz; Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 2003.1; Mainz/Stuttgart 2003).

Illustrations

Fig. 10.1 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.
Present location of object: Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum.
Accession number: [not known].
Height: 98.5 cm.
Date: 1st–2nd century A.D.?
Provenance: Possibly Bajaur.
Source of photo: Institute of Silk Road Studies, *Budda no shōgai to gandāra o meguru hitobito: Hirayama Ikuo korekushon/The Gandhāran Buddhist Sculpture and the Peoples of the Silk Road: The Hirayama Ikuo Collection* [exh. cat., Institute of Silk Road Studies] (Tokyo 2003), 69 (fig. 101).

Fig. 10.2 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; the inscription on the halo. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.

Fig. 10.3 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; detail of the right side of the inscription. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.

Fig. 10.4 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; detail of the left side of the inscription. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN*

ART, BEAUTY, AND THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING A BUDDHIST MONASTERY IN EARLY NORTHWEST INDIA

Gregory Schopen

It is very difficult still to get an overview of Early North India—dates, dynasties, denominations and deities there are still the subjects of sometimes unedifying debate. We work, of course, with what we have, and what we have are broken walls and tangled trenches, stray inscriptions and reused pots, coins, images out of context, and conclusions hanging by a thread. So much energy and erudition goes into sorting all these things out that important questions go unasked. We are usually so preoccupied with what is there that we often do not ask—do not even wonder—why it is. When, for example, so much of the raw data for North Indian numismatics comes from Buddhist monastic sites and ritual deposits are we not obliged to ask why this is so? How is it that groups of ascetic, celibate men who were supposed to have renounced all wealth and social ties, left such largess in the archeological record, how is it that they, and sometimes they alone, lived in North India in permanent, architecturally sophisticated quarters, that they, and they alone, lived in intimate association with what we call art? Something is clearly wrong with this picture and there is a very good chance that we have not yet understood the people in North India who handled the coins we study or the pots we classify. As an example—and it is only that—of an important group of such people, it is perhaps worthwhile to try again to understand what exactly a Buddhist monk was in Early North India. We can do this now a little better because we now know a little better an important Buddhist monastic code that appears to have been redacted there. That the Buddhist monk in Early North India, and in this monastic code, did not look like the caricature found in modern scholarly sources will come as no surprise to those

who know well what he left behind in his living quarters. The monk that we will see in this code is a construction-foreman, an art promoter, a banker, an entrepreneur, sometimes a shyster, and sometimes a saint—he should at least prove to be of some interest.

The monastic code in question, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, has been known in one form or another for a long time now,[1] and although it was very early on recognized that this code was compiled or redacted in Northwest India, the discussion of its date has been badly misdirected by a very red herring and the inattention of those who were supposed to be following the trail. In 1958 the great Belgian scholar Étienne Lamotte declared that this *Vinaya* or Code was late, that ". . . one cannot attribute to this work a date earlier than the 4th–5th Centuries of the Christian Era."[2] This pronouncement—even at its inception based on very shaky grounds—still proved almost fatal since Lamotte himself was forced by his own further work to change his position—and he did so several times—but very few scholars seem to have noticed. By 1966 Lamotte was in fact referring to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* as a source of information for the 1st or 2nd Century of our era.[3]

[1] Examples of early work published on this *Vinaya* are first of all Alexander Csoma de Körös, "Analysis of the Dulva. A Portion of the Tibetan Work Entitled the Kahgyur," *Asiatik Researches* 20 (1836): 41–93 (later translated into French in Léon Feer, *Analyse du kandjour. Recueil des livres sacrés au tibet.* Annales du Musée Guimet II (Paris, 1881), 146–198). In the 1870s Anton von Schiefner published a long series of papers under the title "Indische Erzählungen" in *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* (listed in detail in Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung* (Tokyo, 1981), 254–255), which were in turn translated into English in W.R.S. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources* (London, 1882), and made available a significant sampling of the narrative literature found in this *Vinaya*—indeed the work might have been more accurately entitled "Tales or Stories from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*," though a very few of the 'tales' came from elsewhere. W. Woodville Rockhill also did early important work on this *Vinaya* ("Le traité d'émancipation ou Pratimoksa Sutra,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 9 (1884): 3–26; 167–201; "Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories: Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 18 (1897): 1–14; *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur* (London, 1907).

[2] Ét. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien. Des origines à l'ère śaka* (Louvain, 1958), 727.

[3] For references and further, sometimes overlapping discussion, see Gregory Schopen, "The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk: Conservative Monastic Values in an Early Mahāyāna Polemical Tract," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27 (1999): 292–293; and Gregory Schopen, *Daijō bukkyō kōki jidai: Indo no sōin seikatsu*, translated by Odani Nobuchiyo (Tokyo, 2000), 39ff.

Ironically other scholars then, and for a long time after, continued to quote only the Lamotte of 1958.[4] The changes in Lamotte's views, which he never explicitly acknowledged, brought them eventually into conformity with the views of others who had specifically addressed the issue and been ignored. Today, it seems, the views of the Italian Raniero Gnoli hold the field. He said in 1977: "However, one point seems certain to me: the date of the compilation of the *Vinaya* of the *MSV* is to be taken back to the times of Kaniṣka."[5] And, but for a few quibbles, this would seem fine. Gnoli, as others before him, relies in part for his dating on the fact that one section of this Code—in a passage preserved in the Sanskrit manuscript from Gilgit—refers both to Kaniṣka by name and to the *stūpa* of Kaniṣka at a place it calls Kharjūrikā.[6] This passage in turn forms a part of what Sylvain Lévi long ago called "un véritable *māhātmya* du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde."[7] Both the presence of Kaniṣka's name, and the *māhātmya* as a whole, have been taken as interpolations "which tend to show that the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins had undergone a rehandling around the beginning of the Christian Era."[8] But if the *māhātmya* containing the reference to Kaniṣka is an interpolation made at somewhere near his time, or if this *Vinaya* underwent a rehandling or redaction—"un remaniement"—around the beginning of the Christian era, it seems fairly obvious that it must have existed in some form or in some part even before that time. And there are other indications of this as well.

It is of course neither possible nor desirable to enter here into all the specifics. It must suffice to simply note that the more we learn

[4] For but one prominent example see J.W. de Jong's review of H. Falk, *Schrift im alten Indien*, in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 39 (1996): 69.

[5] *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Gnoli) i, "General Introduction," xix.

[6] *Bhaiṣajyavastu, GMs* iii 1, 1.20–2.5—for the reading of this passage in the Gilgit manuscript itself and some discussion see Schopen 2000, 42–45.

[7] Cited from the short "Introduction" S. Lévi wrote to Jean Przyluski, "Le nord-ouest de l'inde dans le vinaya des mūlasarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés," *Journal asiatique* (1914): 493–568. Przyluski translates here the Chinese translation of this "māhātmya" done by I-ching.

[8] Edouard Huber, "Études bouddhiques. III—Le roi kaniṣka dans le vinaya des mūlasarvāstivādins," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 14 (1914): 19: "qui tendent à montrer que le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādins a subi un remaniement aux environs de l'ère chrétienne." This paper of Huber's, moreover, was also translated into English very shortly after its original publication in G.K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism* (Bombay, 1919), 274–275.

about the contents of this Code, the clearer it becomes that it explicitly deals, often in great detail, with specific religious and monastic practices, ideas, and motives that we know from epigraphical and archeological sources were also current in North India both before and after the rise of the Kuṣāṇas, that it uses the same titles for learned monks and certain kinds of laymen, and describes—often again in great detail—some of the same elements of material culture that we find in that region. A Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Bahāwalpur and dated in the early years of Kaniṣka, for example, illustrates in a single instance several of these shared elements. It records that a monk named Nāgadatta, who is called a *dha[rma]kathi*, "a Narrator of the Dharma"—a title or office repeatedly referred to in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*[9]—"raised the staff" (*yaṭhiṃ aropayata*), i.e., inaugurated a *stūpa*, for "the Owner of the Monastery" (*viharasvamiṇi*) Balānandī. But not only is the title *Vihārasvāmin* repeatedly found in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* where it designates the key lay figure in Mūlasarvāstivādin monasticism,[10] this Code also contains an explicit reference—using virtually the same expression—to a monk's obligation to be in attendance at "the raising of the staff" (*yaṣṭyāropaṇa*).[11] There is, moreover, a whole series of Pre-Kuṣāṇa Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions—all securely dated to the very beginning of the Common Era—which record that individuals deposited relics at

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[9] See as a small sample: *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 3.19; *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, GMs iii 1, 55.12; *Pravrajyāvastu*, GMs iii 4, 56.12; *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ca 247a.7; Ja 69a.2 = *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil) 493.15; etc.

[10] See Gregory Schopen, "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19.1 (1996): 81–126 [reprinted *in BMBM*, 219–259]; Schopen, "Marking Time in Buddhist Monasteries. On Calendars, Clocks, and Some Liturgical Practices," in *Sūryacandrāya. Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Indica et Tibetica 35, ed. Paul Harrison & Gregory Schopen (Swisttal-Odendorf, 1998), 158–179 [reprinted in *BMBM*, 260–284]. At this stage of our ignorance it appears that while the title *vihārasvāmin* might not be exclusive to Mūlasarvāstivādin sources it may well be predominantly a Mūlasarvāstivādin term. Th. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit* (Leiden, 1978), 165, says that the title "is apparently not found in Pali," and it certainly does not occur in the Pāli *Vinaya* even though the term *sassāmika* occurs in conjunction with *vihāra* there (Pāli *Vinaya* iii 156). The lack of linkages between Pāli sources and the epigraphical and archeological records of the Northwest is in fact consistent, and points to the very limited utility of the former for understanding the latter.

[11] The passage in question, *Varṣāvastu*, GMs, iii 4, 139.11–.17, has been discussed in some detail in Gregory Schopen, "The Ritual Obligations and Donor Roles of Monks in the Pāli Vinaya," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16 (1992): 87–107 [reprinted in Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu, 1997), 72–85].

"a previously unestablished place" (*apratiṭhavita-prubami paḍhavi-pradeśami*), and in one case this action is specifically said to result in "the merit of Brahmā" (*brammapuñ[o] prasavati*).[12] This idea, the idea of establishing relics at previously "unconsecrated" places, an idea which appears to have motivated the actual behavior of a number of highly placed individuals in Pre-Kuṣāṇa North India, is again explicitly stated in our *Vinaya* in *exactly* the same language (*apratiṣṭhitapūrve pṛthivīpradeśe*), and explicitly stated there to result in "the merit of Brahmā" (*brāhmam puṇyam prasavati*), raising the possibility at least that our *Vinaya* is in fact actually being quoted in this record.[13] There are, as well, early Kuṣāṇa records that refer to learned monks as *trepiḍakas*, "those who know the Three Baskets,"[14] and this title too repeatedly occurs in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.[15] There is a series of records which record religious acts undertaken by monks and "co-residential pupils" (*sārdhaṃvihārin*) for the purpose of each other's health (*arogadakshinae*),[16] and this is a characteristically Mūlasarvāstivādin

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[12] See for examples Richard Salomon, "The Bhagamoya Relic Bowl Inscription," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27 (1984): 108 (1.2); Gérard Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (II)," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 73 (1984): 33 (1.2); 35 (1.2); 39 (11.7–9); Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (III)," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 74 (1985): 37 (1.3); Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques kouchans (IV). Ajitasena, père de Senavarma," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 75 (1986): 2 (1.5); Salomon, "The Reliquary Inscription of Utara: A New Source for the History of the Kings of Apraca," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31 (1988): 169. For the inscription which refers explicitly to "the merit of Brahmā" see Richard Salomon & Gregory Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7.1 (1984): 108 (1.4).

[13] The passage in question, *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Gnoli) ii 206.16, has been noticed in Salomon and Schopen 1984, 121–22, but the reservations expressed there in regard to whether or not the passage was original to this *Vinaya* need to be revisited and may well have been overstated. The same or a very similar passage also occurs in the *Ekottarāgama*, for example, but given the nature of this compilation the chances that it was the original source are certainly not better.

[14] For convenience see the references in Gregory Schopen, "On Monks, Nuns, and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism," *Artibus Asiae* 49 (1988/89): 158–159 [Schopen 1997, 243].

[15] See as a small sample: *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, GMs iii 1, 55.12; *Pravrajyāvastu*, GMs iii 4, 56.12; *Pravrajyāvastu* (Eimer) ii 259.15; *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ca 247a.7; Ja 64b.5 (= *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil) 488.3, though the Sanskrit has been abbreviated); Ja 80a.2 (= *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil) 505.2); Ja 227a.l; etc.

[16] Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II.1 (Calcutta, 1929), LVIII (p. 124); LXXXVIII (p. 172); Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historiche Klasse. Dritte Folge, Nr. 47 (Göttingen, 1961), §§ 44, 46.

idea prominently enshrined, for example, in its ordination formulary where it is said that a newly ordained monk must be told: "You must, from this day forward and for as long as he lives, nurse your Preceptor. Your Preceptor too must attend to your illnesses until you are dead or cured."[17] In fact, the Preceptor/disciple relationship, for example, is defined almost exclusively in this Code in terms of mutual care giving.[18] There are, finally, the Tōr Ḍherai inscribed pot fragments which refer not only to another *Vihārasvāmin* but to a *prapa*, a "hall for providing water" in a monastery,[19] and our *Vinaya* again has *very* detailed rules governing both the construction and use of what appears to have been just such a "hall."[20]

Material of this sort—and as we will continue to see there is a very great deal of it in this enormous *Vinaya*—would appear to place this Code very much on the cusp of an era: many of the sorts of things it refers to are attested in the archeological and epigraphical records of North India both before the Kuṣāṇas and in the early Kuṣāṇa period itself. It seems in fact to span what may in any case be something of an artificial divide. But at least one more shared

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[17] *Pravrajyāvastu* (Eimer) ii 163.12. For a Sanskrit text of the formulary see B. Jinananda, *Upasampadājñaptiḥ* (Patna, 1961), esp. 26.3 for the passage cited. The *Upasampadājñaptiḥ* appears to be an extract from the *Pravrajyāvastu*, but its textual history is not actually known. For a translation of the entire formulary by Gregory Schopen see Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Buddhist Scriptures* (London, 2004), 232–251.

[18] For some texts illustrative of this very strong emphasis on the obligations of preceptors and pupils in regard to mutual care-giving, especially in times of illness, see *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 212b.3–213b.3; 213b.3–214a.7. On similiar obligations, again in times of illness, of monks for other monks with whom they need not have a formally acknowledged relationship see *Cīvaravastu*, GMs iii 2, 124.11–125.9; 128.1–131.15—(most of these are briefly discussed in G. Schopen, "The Good Monk and his Money in a Buddhist Monasticism of 'The Mahāyāna Period," *Eastern Buddhist* ns 32.1 (2000): 95–96 [= Ch. I, *BMBM*]). *Cīvaravastu*, GMs iii 2, 124.11ff contains a rule requiring monks to undertake acts of worship (*pūjā*) for the benefit of (*uddiśya*) a dying fellow-monk—a situation which might well lay behind several of our inscriptions—and is tentatively translated in Gregory Schopen, "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code," in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. D.S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton, 1995), 495–496 [= Ch. IV, *BMBM*].

[19] Sten Konow, "Note on the Tōr-Ḍhērai Inscriptions," in Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Wazīristān and Northern Balūchistān*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 37 (Calcutta, 1929), 93–97; Konow 1929, XCII (pp. 173–77); cf. the series of pot inscriptions published and discussed in Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra. The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (Seattle, 1999), 183–247.

[20] See *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 108a.6–110a.4; see also *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 50.18–51.9 on monastic wells and the monks' obligation to distribute water there.

linkage between our monastic Code and the Northwest is worth citing because, if for no other reason, it concerns one of our most important sources of knowledge for Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa North India.

Nobody really knows where the idea of using what we call "donative inscriptions" came from in South Asia, or why the Buddhists started to use them—and they were certainly the first to use them on any scale. But Émile Senart, one of the early and great masters of Indian epigraphy, recognized already a long time ago that at least one of their characteristic features originated in the Northwest. He said in 1890: ". . . it is in the Northwest that developed votive formulae first appear,"[21] and little has appeared since that would affect this observation. Given that such developments occurred in the Northwest, and that the Northwest is so comparatively rich in early inscriptions, it is again probably not coincidental that our monastic Code has a good deal to say about what we would call inscriptions, and it is—to my knowledge—the only such Code that does.[22]

Some of what our Code says about inscriptions is a little startling—even outrageous—and a glance at it will therefore serve the purpose of not only telling us something about monastic conceptions of inscriptions, but might also introduce the uninitiated to both the style, verve, and sometimes droll humor of this Code, and to the monastic world out of which it comes. The first text we might look at involves in fact putting restrictions on the monastic use of inscriptions, and tells the story of how the bowl of the famous monk Aniruddha ended up in a whorehouse. Aniruddha, according to the text,[23] had a young disciple who looked after his bowl. But since the young disciple washed both his own and Aniruddha's bowl together they often got confused, so the disciple wrote on Aniruddha's bowl:

[21] É. Senart, "Notes d'épigraphie indienne," *Journal asiatique* (1890): 122. There is now probably no need to pursue the question raised by Senart of foreign influence ("l'imitation des formules épigraphiques de l'Occident") on the development of these formulae. They are far more explicable "par le jeu naturel des idées natives" than he could ever have seen, and a considerable amount of evidence for this is found, in fact, in our Code.

[22] Obviously, much more needs to be known about all the *Vinayas* preserved now only in Chinese before such statements can have any dependable force. For the moment it can only be said that no such material has been noted so far in these *Vinayas*, and no material of this kind occurs in the canonical Pāli *Vinaya*.

[23] The text is found at *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 99a.7–100a.6.

"The bowl of the Preceptor Aniruddha" (. . . *des tshe dang ldan pa ma 'gags pa'i lhung bzed la slob dpon ma 'gags pa'i lhung bzed ces yi ge bris so*). Once, however, both went to a fine meal at the house of a layman. After the meal Aniruddha left but the disciple stayed behind to wash their bowls. While he was doing so the layman asked to borrow a bowl so he could send some of the fine food to his favorite prostitute and the disciple gave him Aniruddha's bowl. The layman filled it with food and sent it to his favorite whore. When she poured out the food she saw the writing on the bottom of the bowl (*lhung bzed kyi zhabs la yi ge 'dug pa mthong nas*). When she read it—the text points out that for a woman she was clever—she thinks to herself. "It is not right for me to desecrate in this way the bowl of that Noble One who is worshipped by gods and men," and she rubs it with perfume, fills it with sweet smelling flowers and places it on a painted stand (*khri'u tshon gyis bris pa*). It is, of course, bad enough that a famous monk's bowl ends up in a private shrine in a whorehouse, but more is yet to come.

When another of her customers arrives "bringing five hundred *kārṣāpaṇas*, perfume and garlands" and wants to get right down to it, she puts him off. "Wait a minute—do worship to the bowl!" "Where did this bowl come from? Whose is it, anyhow?" he says. She tells him as much as she knows and he misunderstands even that, accusing her, in effect, of servicing renouncers (*pravrajita*). She, of course, denies what he implies, but the damage is done.

This little tale, written by a monk for other monks and bordering on burlesque, is used to justify the rule that "monks must not write what is not meant to be written!" (*de lta bas na dge slong dag mi bri ba ma bri shig*), which includes "what pertains to separate individuals" (*gang zag so so; paudgalika*)—that is to say, a monk should not inscribe his private property. This rule, of course, makes writing some of the sorts of inscriptions that we actually find—notably on the shards from the Buddhist levels at Mohenjo-daro—an offense, but it was clearly a minor offense, and such inscriptions are in any case surprisingly rare.[24]

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[24] For the shards from Mohenjo-daro see Ernest J.H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (Delhi, 1938), 1: 187; see also Salomon 1999, 193 (*pot A* inscription) and 245 (the Kara Tepe example cited). There are some other possible examples but an explicit identification of the "owner" as a monk is generally lacking; e.g. S.R. Rao, "Excavations at Kanheri (1969)," in *Studies in Indian History and Culture*,

A second text from our *Vinaya* which deals with inscribing objects also deals with a potentially embarrassing situation for the monastic order. In this text[25] it is said that a householder had or owned two *vihāras*, a forest-*vihāra* and a village-*vihāra* (*khyim bdag gcig la gtsug lag khang dgon pa dang/grong mtha' pa gnyis yod nas* . . .).[26] The village *vihāra* was well and abundantly furnished, but the forest-*vihāra* was not. On the occasion of a festival (*dus ston*) the forest monks wanted to borrow furnishings, bedding and seats, from the village monastery, but the village monks refused. The Buddha intervenes and orders that they must be lent. But the text does not end here, although a clear ruling has been established, because, it seems, the real issue has not yet been engaged.

The text goes on to say that at the end of the festival the forest monks thought to themselves: "This (forest)-*vihāra* too belongs to that (same) householder" (. . . *de dag gtsug lag khang 'di yang khyim bdag de'i yin no*), and they therefore did not return the goods. The Buddha again intervenes and declares—however surprisingly—"They must be brought back by force!" (*mthus dgug par bya'o, balād . . . grahaṇam*)—and there is absolutely no doubt that this is what the text says; the same exact expression is also used elsewhere in this Code in regard to the recovery of goods.[27]

But the text even here is not yet finished, although a second clear and forceful ruling has also been established. The real issue comes—as it usually does in these texts—at the end. When the monks could not tell which goods belonged to what monastery, the text says:

> The Blessed One said: "Write on them 'these furnishings belong to the forest-monastery of the householder so-and-so,' 'this belongs to the village-monastery,' and as these furnishings are clearly identified, so they are to be used!" (. . . *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa/gnas mal 'di ni khyim bdag che ge mo zhig gi dgon pa'i gtsug lag khang gi yin no/'di ni grong mtha'i gtsug lag khang gi yin no zhes yi ge bri zhing gnas mal ji ltar nges par byas pa bzhin du longs spyad par bya'o*).

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edited by Shrinivas Ritti and B.R. Gopal (Dharwar, 1971), 45; Harry Falk, "Protective Inscriptions on Buddhist Monastic Implements," in *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka. Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*. Indica et Tibetica 37, hg. Christine Chojnacki et al (Swisttal-Odendorf, 2000), 254, and the literature cited.

[25] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ja 15a.3–15b.l, discussed already in Schopen 1996, 101–02 [= *BMBM*, 230–231].

[26] For another example of this state of affairs see *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 40.13: *anyatamena gṛhapatinā dvau vihārau kāritau eka āraṇyakānāṃ dvitīyo grāmāntikānām.*

[27] See Schopen 1996, 102 n. 44 [= *BMBM*, 231 n. 44].

Although the two texts so far cited occur in two completely different sections of our Code—one in the *Uttaragrantha* and the other in the *Vibhaṅga*—the second text is clearly a pendant to the first: the latter indicates that by monastic rule a monk's private property should not be inscribed; the former that property belonging to a monastery should be. A third and here final text, however, goes beyond both. It rules that the name of the donor must be inscribed on the object given and, in fact, puts in the mouth of the Buddha himself a donative formula that is virtually identical to some of what we find in actual North Indian donative inscriptions. The text[28] says that after King Ajātaśatru, who had been mislead by the evil monk Devadatta, had killed his father he wept whenever he saw his father's furnishings (*mal gos*). His advisers suggest that he should therefore give them to the Community of Monks, which he did. The monks, however, arranged them in the entrance hall (*sgo khang, dvārakoṣṭhaka*) of the monastery, and thus defeated the purpose since whenever the King visited the monastery he saw them and once again wept. The Buddha then said they must not be arranged in the entrance hall, so the monks first put them in an upper room (*yang thog, aṭṭāla*), but that did not work either, and so they put them in a residential cell (*gnas khang, layana*), and this turned out to be even worse. When "unbelievers" no longer saw the furnishings they began to criticize the Community, saying "since these monks have surely sold or made away with the King's furnishings, merit from giving to them disappears!" (*ma dad pa dag gis rgyal po'i mal gos ni dge slong dag gis nges par btsongs te zos pas na/ de ste phul ba'i bsod nams mi snang ngo zhes dpyas pa/*).[29] This, of course, will not do and the Buddha then ordered that the furnishings be periodically displayed, but this only served to confuse the Community's critics since sometimes they saw the goods and sometimes they didn't. This whole comedy of errors—and count-

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[28] *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 154b.6–155a.6 = Tog Na 223a.5–223b.7.

[29] There is a significant difference between Derge and Tog in regard to the reading for the second half of this statement. Tog has *de ste phul ba'i bsod nams mi snang ngo zhes dpyas pa*, and I have adopted this here. Derge, however, reads *de sngon snang na da mi snang no zhes dpyas pa*, "since that which was formerly visible now is not." It is possible that the reading in Derge was influenced by the reading in the corresponding passage in the very similar text that immediately follows (see n. 33 below) since there both Derge and Tog have: *snga na ni snang na da* [Tog *da ni*] *mi snang no zhes 'phya ba* [Tog *dpyas pa*], but any satisfying resolution will have to wait for a proper edition of the text.

less texts in this *Vinaya* are structured as such—finally results in the definitive ruling. The Buddha, in the end, says simply to the monks: "You must write on the ends: 'This thing is a religious gift of King Bimbisāra' and display it!" (*yon du phul ba'i dngos po 'di ni rgyal po gzugs can snying po'i yin no zhes mtha' ma la yi ger bris te zhog shig/*).

Fortunately we have a Sanskrit text too for what the Buddha orders should be written. In his *Vinaya-sūtra*—a digest of our Code—Guṇaprabha gives it as *deyadharmo 'yam amukasya*,[30] and—if we bracket the ever expanding "pious wishes"—this is almost exactly what we find, for example, on some of the inscribed pots recently published by Richard Salomon in his remarkable book on the British Library Scrolls: *[a]yaṃ pānaya ghaḍe deyaṃdharme va*[*sa*]*vadatae susomabharyae. . . .* "This waterpot is the pious gift of Vasavadata, wife of Susoma . . .," or *aya pa[ni]ya ghaḍae hastadatae teyavarmabharyae deyadharma. . . .* "This waterpot is the pious gift of Hastadata . . . wife of Teyavarman. . . ."[31] This is also very much like what we find—as Gérard Fussman has shown—on the Shah-ji-ki Dheri casket inscription: *ayaṃ gaṃdha-karaṃḍe deyadharme . . . mahasenasa saṃgharakṣidasa . . .* or on the Tōr Ḍherai shards, which share as well, as we have seen, a number of other features with our *Vinaya: shahi-yola-mirasya viharasvamisya deyadharmo yaṃ prapa. . . .*[32]

We have here, it seems, a remarkable congruence between text and epigraph, and yet another indication that what was stated as a Rule in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* was actually being practiced before, on, and after the cusp of our era in Northwest India. And a few further things might be noted here. First, it is immediately obvious that the "donative formula" found in the text is, by comparison with what occurs already in the earliest inscriptions, rather undeveloped, and this might suggest that the text is therefore even earlier. Second, it is clear, though probably not so obvious, that the text, though undeveloped, already carries the seed of what will grow into full-blown formulae for the "transfer of merit." In the text it is explicitly indicated that the gift is actually given by Ajātaśatru, but the Buddha himself says that it should be inscribed as the gift of Bimbisāra,

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[30] *Vinayasūtra* (Sankrityayana) 119.2 = Derge, bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Wu 98b. 3.

[31] Salomon 1999, 198, 218.

[32] Gérard Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. M. Yaldiz & W. Lobo (Berlin, 1987), 79; Konow, in Stein 1929, 97.

his dead father. Indeed, given the ambiguity and over-lap between the genitive and dative cases not only in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but in Tibetan as well, the text could just as well be translated as "You must write on the ends: 'This thing is a religious gift *for* King Bimbisāra.'" Finally, it is perhaps significant that the text I have treated here is not the only such text in our Code. Another very similar one in fact immediately follows it. The idea, it seems, was worth repeating.[33]

What we have seen so far of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* would seem, then, to provide good grounds for asserting both a broad contemporaneity and a close if not intimate connection between much of what it contains and the religious world of Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa North India that is reflected in the epigraphical and archeological records. This, of course, might not have been entirely unexpected. We know from even old inscriptions that the Sarvāstivādins were widely spread across Northwest India in these periods,[34] and our Code or *Vinaya* is by its title either "*the Original Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins*" or "*the Vinaya of the Original Sarvāstivādins*," depending on how the compound is read. In fact the apparent contemporaneity between it and early Northwest practice may actually give substance to the claim embedded in its title.[35] But our Code in any case also pro-

[33] *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 155a.6–157a.2. This second text, in essentials very similar to the first although it contains as well a sermon on the inevitability of death, deals with the furnishings (again *mal gos*) of King Prasenajit's grandmother (*phyi mo*) which he gave "to the Noble Community of the Jetavana" (the same narrative frame is used at Pāli *Vinaya* ii 169.29 to a different end). In this instance, however, the 'inscription' that is to be written is *yul ko sha la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis phul ba'i* [*mal*] *gos*, "furnishings that were given by Prasenajit, King of Kośala". It, then, does not use a pronoun (*'di, ayam*), nor an expression like *yon du phul ba'i dngos po* or *sbyin par bya ba'i chos* (*deyadharma*—so *Vinayasūtra*), and so is even less developed. It also names as the donor the actual giver of the property (Prasenajit), and not its previous and now deceased owner (Prasenajit's grandmother).

[34] Already noted in André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Paris, 1955), 36, 131–132, and the sources cited; Lamotte 1958, 578; and repeated recently in Charles Willemen et al, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (Leiden, 1998), 103–104; 115–116. Inscriptions from the Northwest that refer to the Sarvāstivādins, moreover, continue to be published. See Salomon 1999, 200 (pot B), 205 (pot C).

[35] For some examples of the attempts to sort out the relationship(s) between the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins see J.W. de Jong, "Les *sūtrapiṭaka* des sarvāstivādin et des mūlasarvāstivādin," *in Mélanges d'indianisme a la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris, 1968), 395–402; Biswadeb Mukherjee, "On the Relationship between the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya," *Journal of Asian Studies* (Madras) 2.1 (1984) 139–65; B. Mukherjee, "Shih-sung-lu and the Reconstruction

vides us with a glimpse into the Buddhist monastic world out of which it comes, and already indicates how far removed this world is from the one presented in popular works and textbooks, and even in otherwise good scholarly work. The Buddhist monk we see even in the few passages so far cited from this Code has in fact very little in common with the Buddhist monk who lives in the western imagination—the ascetic monk who wanders alone "like a rhinoceros" in the forest, sits at the root of a tree in deep meditation, and has cut all ties with the world. If this monk ever existed, by the time of our Code he would certainly have been very much of an exception, and by no means a popular one.

Forty years ago André Bareau said not just about our Code but all Buddhist monastic Codes ". . . it is true that the Vinayapiṭakas do not breathe a word about the numerous spiritual practices, meditations, contemplations, etc., which constituted the very essence of the Buddhist 'religion.'"[36] And although this is something of an exaggeration, still it should have given all pause for thought. Our Code, for example, does refer to ascetic, meditating monks, but when it does so in any detail such monks almost always appear as the butt of jokes, objects of ridicule, and, not uncommonly, sexual deviants.[37] They are presented as irresponsible and of the type that gives the Order a bad name.[38] There are texts in our Code where, for example, ascetic, cemetery-monks only manage to terrify children;[39] where ascetic monks who wear robes made from cemetery cloth are not even allowed into the monastery, let alone allowed to sit on a mat that belongs to the Community;[40] tales where the only point seems

of the Original Sarvāstivāda Vinaya," *Buddhist Studies* 15 (1991) 46–52; Willemen et al 1998, 36–137; F. Enomoto, "'Mūlasarvāstivādin' and 'Sarvāstivādin', in Chojnacki 2000, 239–250. Willemen et al referring to work by Przyluski, Hofinger and Bareau, say on p. 87: "Comparative studies of the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins and of the Mūlasarvāstivādins reveal that what was later called the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is older than the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, and even older than most other *Vinayapiṭakas*.

36 André Bareau, "Le construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les vinayapiṭaka," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 244.

37 *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 102a.5–104b.2.

38 *Poṣadhavastu*, (Hu-von Hinüber) §§ 6.1–.8.

39 *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ja 154b.2–156b.7.

40 *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 222b.2–224b.l. Both this passage and the *Vibhaṅga* passage of n.39 are more fully discussed in Gregory Schopen, "Cross-dressing with the Dead: Asceticism, Ambivalence, and Institutional Values in an Indian Monastic Code," in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Brian J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone, forthcoming.

to be to indicate that meditation makes you stupid;[41] texts about monks who meditate in the forest who cannot control their male member and so end up smashing it between two rocks—whereupon the Buddha tells them, while they are howling in pain, that they, unfortunately, have smashed the wrong thing: they should have smashed desire.[42] There is a tale about another monk who meditated in the forest and, to avoid being seduced by a goddess, had to tie his legs shut (!) The goddess being put off by this then flings him through the air and he lands, legs still tied, on top of the King who is sleeping on the roof of his palace. The King, of course, is not amused, and makes it known to the Buddha that it will not do to have his monks being flung around the countryside in the middle of the night. The Buddha then actually makes a rule forbidding monks to meditate in the forest![43] Texts and tales of this sort are very numerous in our Code.

The monks our Code is concerned with are of a very different sort as, again, even our very brief survey indicates. In the passages so far cited we find monks who have servants and who do not even have to wash their own dishes. Monks who eat fine meals in the homes of prominent laymen; monks who are concerned not about meditation, but with property, with marking and maintaining control or possession of property, and who have and acknowledge personal property. Moreover, the monks our Code is concerned with live, whether in the forest or the village, in monasteries that were owned by laymen. It is becoming ever clearer on the basis of this Code that that meant they were in at least some important ways in the employ of their donors. There are rules in this Code that require, for example, that monks, regardless of their own wishes, must spend a part of each day in any *vihāra* that has been "donated" to insure that none stands empty, that all are used, and thus continue to earn merit for their owner, even if a single monk has to move from one

[41] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ja 79b.7–80b.3 = *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil) 504.25–505.29.

[42] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 39a.6–39b.5.

[43] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Da 35b.2–36a.2; the *Poṣadhavastu* passage cited in n. 38 above also explicitly forbids practicing meditation in the forest: *bhagavān āha/nāraṇye yogo bhāvayitavyah* (§ 6.5).

to another in the course of the same day.[44] There are rules that require the monks to recite verses every day for the merit of not only the owner of the monastery, but each and every donor or benefactor, and each of their individual names must every day be announced—this in a monastery of any size could easily have taken up a significant part of the day.[45] There was, however, an even more serious problem in this "employment," a systemic problem of far reaching consequences that involved our monks—and very early on it seems—in money transactions, sophisticated financial enterprises, the promotion of "art," and extensive fund raising projects. It created situations that—for example—the administrators of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, or any institution, might find uncomfortably familiar.

The problem most simply put was this: whereas, as we have seen, the obligations of the monks who lived in their monasteries were reasonably clear and enforceable, the obligations of the owner or donors were much less so. Aspects of the problem are repeatedly addressed in our Code, particularly the problems of the maintenance and upkeep of the "physical plant" and the subsistence of its residents. The problem of monasteries falling into disrepair is explicitly raised, for example, in the *Śayanāsanavastu*, "the Section on Bedding and Seats" in our Code, but the solution proposed there must have been something less than satisfying. There the Buddha says:

> The donor should be encouraged to make repairs (*dānapatir utsāhayitavyaḥ*). If just that succeeds, it is good. If it does not succeed then they are to be repaired with Community assets (*sāṃghika*). If that is not possible, in so far as it is possible, to that extent restoration is to be done. The rest must be tolerated (*anye vyupekṣitavyāḥ*).[46]

Passages of this sort suggest that the redactors of our Code understood that "donors" were not strictly speaking obliged to maintain their monasteries, and could only be encouraged to do so. But they also suggest that there was an awareness, if not an expectation, that

[44] *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 35.1–.10; the passage is translated and discussed in Schopen 1996, 113–114ff [= *BMBM*, 238–239]. Note in particular n. 65 there where the corresponding passage in the *Vinayasūtra* is also translated.

[45] *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 71b.4–74a.2, translated and discussed in Schopen 1998, 173–178ff [= *BMBM*, 270–275].

[46] *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 35.7; Schopen 1996, 113 [= *BMBM*, 238].

they might not. Other passages in this same *Vastu*, however, suggest as well that in regard to the related problem of subsistence the monks might vote, as it were, with their feet.

In one such passage,[47] for example, a householder goes to a monastery and hears the Elder of the Community reciting verses and "assigning the reward or merit" (*dakṣiṇām ādiśat*) to its deceased (*abhyatītakālagata*) donors.[48] He says to the monk: "Noble One, if I have a *vihāra* built would you assign the merit to my name also?" (*ārya yady ahaṃ vihāraṃ kārayāmi mamāpi nāmnā dakṣiṇām uddiśasi*). The monk says he will, and the householder has a *vihāra* built, "but he gave nothing to it and it remained unoccupied" (*tatrānena na kiṃcid dattam sa śūnya evāvasthitaḥ*). The householder sees this and goes to complain to the monk: "Noble One," he says, "my *vihāra* (*madīyo vihāraḥ*) remains empty. No monk resides there." The monk says: "Sir, it should be made productive (*utsvedya*)." The householder initially misunderstands this euphemism and says "But, Noble One, it was built on sterile saline soil. How is it to be made productive?" To which the Monk says: "Householder, I did not mean that, but rather that there was no donation (*lābha*) there." The householder says: "Noble One, who now resides in my *vihāra* (*madīye vihāre*), to him I will present cloth."

Monks could, then, in effect try to force the owner of a *vihāra* to provide for their maintenance by withdrawing or refusing to provide their services, but this, of course, could be a two-edged sword, and if they tried it they could find themselves not only out of business, but also without a home. Moreover, yet another structural weakness arose from the fact that donors—like the rest of us—died, and the redactors of our Code were clearly aware of what this could mean.

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[47] *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 37.6–38.13; translated in full at Schopen 1996, 92–93 [= *BMBM*, 225–226].

[48] Both Vinītadeva's *Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna* (Derge, btsan 'gyur, 'dul ba Tshu 64b.5) and Śīlapālita's *Āgamakṣudrakavyākhyāna* (Derge, btsan 'gyur, 'dul ba Dzu 73a.5) make it clear that the Mūlasarvāstivādin commentarial tradition understood *dakṣiṇām ā√diś* or *ud√diś* to mean the "assigning" or "transfer" of merit. The first, commenting on *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ca 154a.5, says: *yon bshad pa zhes bya ba ni sbyin pa'i 'bras bu yongs su bsngo ba'o*, "'Assigning the reward' means: transferring the fruit of the gift"; and the second, commenting on *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 237a.5, says: *yon bsngo ba ni chos kyi sbyin pa la sogs pa las yang dag par byung ba'i bsod nams kyi 'bras bu kun du* [rd: *tu*] *bgo bsha' byad* [rd. *byed*] *pa'o*, "'assigning the reward' means: apportioning the fruit of the merit which arises from a religious gift, etc.".

More than one text in our Code begins with just such a situation. In the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, in a passage we will return to, we find, for example:[49]

> A devout and good householder with meritorious inclinations lived in a rural hamlet. He had a *vihāra* for the Community built in the forest that had lofty gateways and was ornamented with open galleries on the roof, latticed windows, and railings. It captivated both the heart and eye, was like a stairway to the heavens, and had exquisite couches, benches, and furnishings.[50] The householder provided robes, alms, and all the needs of the sixty monks who lived there.
>
> But later that householder died. Since he had a son the monks went to him and said: "Seeing, Sir, that your father had provided robes, alms and all the needs of sixty monks, are you able as well to provide us, the sixty monks, with robes, alms and all our needs?"
>
> The son said: "Noble Ones, while there are some who might look after a hundred, a thousand, or even a hundred thousand, since there are others, myself included, who have difficulty making ends meet, I am not able to do it."
>
> The monks then left that *vihāra*.

In the event of a donor's death, then, the lack of clarity in regard to his obligations while alive became even more pronounced in regard to the donor's heirs. The text here suggests that the redactors of our Code considered that the initial response of the monks to such an event should be to approach the heir or heirs to get a confirmation that any arrangement that the donor had entered into would continue. But it also suggests that there was a clear awareness that the heirs might—and had the right to—simply terminate any such arrangement. In fact the death of an owner or donor created a very awkward situation. The obligations of the monks to a dead donor had been put unequivocally into the Buddha's mouth: "The Blessed One said: 'Merit must be transferred to donors who have passed away and are dead!'" (*uktaṃ bhagavatā abhyatītakālagatānāṃ dānapatīnām nāmnā dakṣinā ādeṣṭavyā iti*).[51] He had been made to declare just as explicitly that all *vihāras* must be used. But without some provision having been made for the maintenance of both the physical monastery and any resident monks neither would have been possible after the

[49] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Cha 184a.l.

[50] On this description of, and emphasis on, a beautiful *vihāra* see below 307ff and n. 60.

[51] *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 37.6.

donors' death, in spite of the fact that donors might have acted on the expectation that it would. The redactors of our Code, moreover, would have us believe that this concern was in fact explicitly articulated by donors themselves, and that it was in response to their voiced concern that the monks had begun to accept considerable sums as "permanent endowments," and to lend those sums out on interest. At least this is how these practices were justified in one of the two texts in our *Vinaya* which deal with them.

The *Vibhaṅga* text in question, which has been treated in some detail elsewhere, opens by saying:[52]

> At that time the Licchavis of Vaiśālī built houses with six or seven upper chambers. As the Licchavis built their houses, so too did they build *vihāras*. . . . As a consequence, because of their great height . . . they fell apart. When that occurred the donors thought: "If even the *vihāras* of those who are still living . . . fall thus into ruin, how will it be for the *vihāras* of those who are dead? We should give a perpetuity to the monastic Community for building purposes."

They do so, and then encourage the suitably reluctant monks to lend out on interest the sums they were given as endowments. The monks ask the Buddha and the Buddha says: "For the sake of the Community a perpetuity for building purposes must be lent out on interest." A little later in the text this directive is extended to perpetuities for the benefit of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Community. The text then concludes with one of the more remarkable pieces of *buddhavacana* that we have, a saying of the Buddha giving detailed instructions on how to make a loan and how to write a written loan contract:

> The Blessed One said: "Taking a pledge of twice the value (of the loan), and writing out a contract which has a seal and is witnessed, the perpetuity is to be placed. In the contract the year, the month, the day, the name of the Elder of the Community, the Provost of the Monastery, the borrower, the property, and the interest should be recorded. When the perpetuity is to be placed, that pledge of twice the value is also to be placed with a trustworthy lay-brother who has undertaken the five rules of training.

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[52] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Cha 154b.3. For a more detailed treatment of the passage see Schopen, "Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994): 527–554 [= *BMBM*, 45–90].

Such a financial instrument or legal device is, of course, at least one viable solution to the problem of institutional maintenance over time and this sort of thing—like the legal concept of a "juristic personality"—was very likely pioneered by Buddhist monastic communities. There is in fact inscriptional evidence for the use of such instruments by Buddhist monastic communities from as early as, perhaps, the 1st Century of the Common Era, but unfortunately not from the Northwest.[53] This fact, however, must be tempered by the further fact that records of endowments or land grants, for example, are extremely rare—if they occur at all—in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa epigraphical record from the Northwest. If such transactions occurred there, and it is hard to imagine that they did not, it appears that they were simply not recorded in inscriptions.

But in addition to permanent endowments and to lending money on interest, our Code also suggests that the monastic communities it knew or envisioned could also borrow money. We know this from a remarkable provision of what can only be called Mūlasarvāstivādin monastic inheritance law. Since the text involved is a short one and until recently virtually unknown it might be quoted here in full:[54]

> The setting was in Śrāvastī.
>
> A monk who was the Service Manager (*zhal ta byed pa, vaiyāpṛtyakara*) borrowed money (*nor*) from a householder for the sake of the Community and then died. When the householder heard that that monk had died he went to the *vihāra* and asked: "Where is the monk so-and-so?"
>
> The monks said: "He's dead."
>
> The householder said: "But, Noble Ones, he borrowed some money from me."
>
> "Well go and collect it from him then!" the monks said.
>
> "But since it was not for the sake of his parents or himself, but for the sake of the Community that he took it, you should repay it!"

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[53] See, for references, Schopen 1994, 532 ns. 22–25 [= *BMBM*, 52 ns. 22–25], to which might be added B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao et al., *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradeśa* (Secunderabad, 1998), 192 "Patagandigudem (Kallacheruvu) Copper Plates of Siri Ehāvala Chāntamūla." This record was apparently discovered only in 1997 and is potentially very important. It is the only copper-plate inscription of the Ikṣvākus so far known, and is the only record so far of a grant of land by an Ikṣvāku king to a Buddhist monastic community. A far better treatment of it is now available in Harry Falk, "The Pātagaṇḍigūḍem copper-plate grant of the Ikṣvāku king Ehavala Cāntamūla," *Silk Road Art and Archeology* 6 (1999/2000): 275–283.

[54] *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 196a.7. For a discussion of the text see now Gregory Schopen, "Dead Monks and Bad Debts: Some Provisions of a Buddhist Monastic Inheritance Law," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44 (2001): 115–18 [= *BMBM*, 136–140].

> The monks reported to the Blessed One what had occurred and the Blessed One said: "If it is known that he took it for the sake of the Community, then the Community must repay the loan! I, monks, will here give the rules of customary behavior for a monk like the Monk in Charge of Construction (*las gsar du byed pa, navakarmika*): When the Monk in Charge of Construction has asked the various Seniors (*rgan pa*), then he must take out loans! If Monks in Charge of Construction do not act in accordance with the rules of customary behavior they come to be guilty of an offence."

Here we have put into the mouth of the Buddha—the same Buddha who is said to have declared that "all things are impermanent"—specific instructions detailing how a monastic officer must, after consultation with the senior monks, take out a loan from a layman for the use of the monastic community. Obviously, if we chose, as most scholars have, to take the one type of declaration seriously, but the other not, then we are going to be in no position to fully understand the buildings that followers of that same Buddha built, nor the pots they used, nor the money that they handled. Indeed there may be for us a further cautionary tale in the fact that the *navakarmika*, the monk who is not only in charge of construction but who is also to take out loans, is very probably the earliest monastic officer for which we have epigraphical evidence,[55] and in the fact that just such an officer is mentioned in four separate Pre- and Early-Kuṣāṇa Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the Northwest.[56]

To this point, then, it seems that we can at least conclude that the redactors of our Code, who very probably lived in Early Northwest India, were looking for ways, and devising means, to secure access to funds and reliable sources of income that would insure the continuation of the institution to which they belonged, and the maintenance of the physical plants that housed it. In the process they—like so many successful fundraisers who came after them—seem to have discovered what St. Bernard in 11th century France still found disconcerting. Bernard did not like elaborate monastic architecture, nor art in monasteries. He particularly did not like what he thought

[55] Its only possible competitor would be the office of *bhatudesaka* which is referred to in a single inscription from Bhārhut (H. Lüders, *Bharhut Inscriptions*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II.2, ed. E. Waldschmidt & M.A. Mehendale (Ootacamund, 1963), 20, A 17.

[56] Konow 1927, XIII, LXXII, LXXVI, LXXXII; see also Schopen 1997, 159, 190–91 and notes.

other monks used them for. He argued, in fact, that art and fine architecture were being used to attract donations to the monasteries, and he thought that because, very probably, they were. But in his exasperation he said: "In this way wealth is derived from wealth, in this way money attracts money, because by I know not what law, wherever the more riches are seen, there the more willingly are offerings made."[57] This same principle, or quirk of human psychology, seems, as I have already said, to already have been discovered by the redactors of our Code. They at least included in their compilation a very significant number of texts which suggest that. Here we can only look at a few.

Our Code refers to beautiful monasteries in beautiful settings, to paintings on monastery walls and on cloth, and to a very specific image type, one example of which, from Sahri-Bahlol, must surely be one of the most beautiful images in all of Gandhāran art.[58] But in virtually every case these references also refer—in one way or another—to the gifts and donations that such things generate. Even in a case that might at first sight seem to be an exception to this it turns out to be true. In a text that we have already seen, for example, an elaborate monastery with "lofty gateways and ornamented with open galleries on the roof," a monastery explicitly said to "captivate both the heart and the eye," is abandoned after the death of its donor. But not—the text goes on to say—for long. When "merchants from the North Country" *see* this beautiful monastery and discover its monks have left, they promptly re-endow it on an even more lavish scale. They say to two old monks that they found there:[59]

> "Noble Ones, here is alms for three months for sixty monks. Here is alms for the festival of the eighth day, and for the fourteenth day, and the fifteenth day. Here are the requisites for medicines for the sick, a general donation, the price for robes. . . . When the rainy season is over we will return and provide for the needs of a hundred monks."

[57] Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Moment". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990), 280–281, for both the Latin text and the translation cited here. For another translation see Michael Casey & Jean Leclercq, *Cistercians and Cluniacs. St. Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William* (Kalamazoo, 1970), 65; see also Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude. Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, 1984), 11–14.

[58] See below, n. 77.

[59] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Cha 184a. 1.

Narratively, the merchants can only be responding to the beauty and elaborate character of the monastery, not to what the monks are or do. There are in fact no permanent resident monks, and this interpretation is, as we will see, explicitly confirmed elsewhere. The message here in a tale told by monks to other monks must have been clear: If you want to have a monastery that can survive the death of its donor, then it too must be capable of captivating the heart and the eye—not, be it noticed, the head.[60] In fact such monasteries were thought not only to survive, but to have been inordinately prosperous. That at least is the substance of another text which describes in some detail the kinds of wealth that are found in a beautiful *vihāra*. There even the cells of new novices have cloth racks "hung and heaped with cloth;" the Community has a great deal of "bedding and seats" and even new novices, again, get seven sorts; and the monks' cells are full of copper vessels.[61] Beauty, it seems, in part at least means over abundance, and the association between the two is not made by us, but by the redactors of our Code. A third text that refers to such a monastery typifies a whole series of such texts and confirms our initial observation. It is of additional interest because it contains the authorization for monks to maintain stores of rice and to get into the rice selling business.

The text in question is so straightforward as to be startling. In it "some merchants from the northern road" were traveling[62]

> . . . they saw *vihāras* which had high arched gateways, were ornamented with windows, latticed windows and railings, *vihāras* that captivated the

[60] This description of a beautiful *vihāra* is so common in our *Vinaya* that it constitutes a cliché; for some other examples, some of which will be cited immediately below, see *Vibhaṅga*, Derge, Ca 153b.3; Cha 148b.2; 156b.4; Nya 141a.6; 146b.4; 147b.3; *Pravrajyāvastu* (Eimer) ii 271.8; 273.12; etc. The last two of these are particularly interesting examples which combine the description of a beautiful *vihāra* with another formula, discussed below, that describes the natural beauty of a park in spring; both also contain a further characterization of the *vihāra* as *lha'i gnas ltar dpal gyis 'bar ba*. Happily we also have a Sanskrit version of this simile: *devabhavanam iva śriyā jvalantam*, "like the dwelling of a god, shining with splendor"—this is a remarkable figure of speech to apply to a Buddhist monastery (see Volkbert Näther et al., "The Final Leaves of the *Pravrajyāvastu* Portion of the Vinayavastu Manuscript Found near Gilgit. Part I Saṃgharakṣitāvadāna," in *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III*. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden. Beiheft 6, Bearbeitet von G. Bongrad-Levin et al. (Göttingen, 1996), 255.33.

[61] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ca 153b.1ff.

[62] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Cha 156b.4.

> eye and heart and were like stairways to heaven, and they were deeply affected (*dad par 'gyur te, prasanna*). They went to a *vihāra* and said to the monks: "Noble Ones, we would make an offering feast (*mchod ston*) for the Community!"

The point here is probably hard to miss. Here the merchants are explicitly presented as responding to the appearance of the monastery, and to that alone. They are moved by its beauty, their heart and eye stolen. The Sanskrit here was certainly either *prasanna* or *abhiprasanna* and it repeatedly occurs in our passages to express an emotional state or aesthetic reaction. It is a term like *saṃvega*, which occurs in some of the same contexts, in spite of how it has sometimes been translated, and in our texts this aesthetic reaction almost invariably results, as we will see, in donations.[63] But our text also goes on to indicate that attracting donors can also involve complications.

When the merchants have declared their intentions to the monks, the monks tell them to bring what is needed for the meal, but the merchants say they have only just arrived and they would prefer to give the price to the monks and then the monks can provide the rice. The monks demur, but the Buddha then gives a first directive: "When someone makes an offering feast for the sake of the Community you must sell them rice!" (. . . *rin gyis 'bras sbyin par bya'o*). The monks do so, but when "large numbers" made such feasts and the monks sold to all of them "the common stores were exhausted," and the Buddha gives a second set of directives which constitute, in effect, guidelines for running an efficient granary—i.e., he directs that when rice is sold for a feast in the same *vihāra* a little something extra might be given for the price; that old rice must be sold at "a good time" and the storerooms filled with new rice, etc. Clearly, the monks who redacted our Code realized that being in one business, the business of attracting donors, required engaging in other businesses as well, like buying and selling grain.

But if these and other texts like them in our *Vinaya* link beautiful and imposing monastic architecture with the attraction of donations,

[63] For the richness of the terms *prasanna* and *abhiprasanna* see, for now, Schopen 1996, 98–99 and n. 39 [= *BMBM*, 228–229 & n. 39]; and note, for now, that there is almost cetainly a connection between the Buddhist use of these terms in the context of donations and the dharmaśāstric notion of "tokens of affection" (*prasāda*) as a distinct category of property that is excluded from partition. For some examples of the latter see Ludo & Rosane Rocher, "Ownership by Birth: The Mitākṣarā Stand," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 29 (2001): 247–48.

still others articulate, in addition, a linkage between donations and the natural beauty of a monastery's setting. One example will suffice. In the Chapter on Robes we find:[64]

> There was a householder in a rural hamlet. He had a *vihāra* made, but only one monk entered into the rainy season retreat there. That monk, however, was energetic. Every day he smeared that *vihāra* with cow-dung and swept it well. Well maintained was that *vihāra*, and sited in a lovely isolated spot adorned with all sorts of trees, filled with the soft sounds of geese and curlews, peacocks and parrots, mainas and cuckoos, adorned with various flowers and fruits.
>
> Once a very wealthy trader spent the night in that *vihāra*. When he saw the beauties of that *vihāra* (*vihāraśobhaṃ*), and the beauties of its woods (*upavanaśobhaṃ*), he was deeply moved (*abhiprasanna*), and although he had not seen the monks, he dispatched in the name of the Community a very considerable donation (*prabhūto lābhaḥ*).

This little text too probably requires little commentary, in part because in both its structure and its basic vocabulary it repeats the others we have seen, and in part because it is so clear. There are of course "new" elements of interest, but the basic account is what might already be called "the same old story." A wealthy merchant comes to a *vihāra* and when he *sees* its beauties he is struck, moved, or affected—once again the term is *abhiprasanna*—and he makes a large donation. What is different here is that although, again, the *vihāra* itself is attractive, the emphasis is not so much on it, as on what might be called the aesthetics of order and cleanliness and the beauty of its setting. If the early Northwest was anything like modern India it is not difficult to see how a clean and well maintained monastery might well make a distinct impression. But the natural beauty of the site itself is most fully described and it is this, perhaps, that our redactors want most to emphasize. The site of the monastery is here described very much in the same terms that our Code repeatedly uses to describe the natural beauties of a park or garden (*udyāna*) in spring, and thereby assimilates the two.[65] Though oddly little studied, Indian literature—both religious and secular—is saturated with thick and sensuous descriptions of such "parks" and they clearly had strong aesthetic appeal. Western archeologists from Cunningham to

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[64] *Cīvaravastu*, GMs iii 2, 107.11.

[65] *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Gnoli) ii 109.10; 121.5; *Śayanāsanavastu* (Gnoli) 32.3; etc.

Stein have also repeatedly remarked on the sometimes stunning natural beauty of the sites of Buddhist monasteries, and our text would seem to indicate that their selection was almost certainly not accidental.[66] Apart from these considerations we perhaps need only note here that our text makes very explicit what in the previous texts was only strongly implied: this merchant was responding solely and simply to the beauties of the *vihāra* and its setting. The text explicitly says that he never even saw the monks.

Having seen what we have in the discussion of our texts so far, when we get to what we call "art" there are no surprises. As Zürcher and others have noted, our monastic Code is comparatively rich in references to "art," although the "art" it refers to is predominately painting.[67] Here I must limit myself to some brief remarks on two such texts whose basic point will sound perfectly familiar.

One of the texts on monastic art in our Code has been known for some time now. It deals with the famous lay brother Anāthapiṇḍada seeking and gaining permission from the Buddha to have paintings in the equally famous monastery that he "donated" to the Order.[68] The language that he is made to use, and the reasons he is made to give for wanting paintings in the monastery are particularly interesting but can, of course, only be securely attributed to the monk or monks who composed or redacted the text. They, or Anāthapiṇḍada, did not, according to the text, want art in the monastery to instruct either the laity or the monks, nor to serve as objects of devotion, nor as aids to meditation. They or him wanted this art for a very different reason, and the text here too seems to be remarkably straightforward. It begins:

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[66] Alexander Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India* (London, 1854), 320–321; Aurel Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (London, 1929), 17–18; 35.

[67] See Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Art in Medieval China: The Ecclesiastical View," in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art. Proceedings of a Seminar held at Leiden University 21–24 October 1991*, ed. K.R. van Kooij & H. Van der Veere (Groningen, 1995), 1–20, esp. 6; and before him Alexander Coburn Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes Towards the Art of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 32 (1950): 147–51; Paul Demiéville, "Butsuzō," *Hōbōgirin*, troisième fascicule (Paris, 1974), 210ff.

[68] For the account of the founding of this famous monastery in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and on the distinct possibility that the purchase of its site by Anāthapiṇḍada was highly illegal, see Gregory Schopen, "Heirarchy and Housing in a Buddhist Monastic Code. A Translation of the Sanskrit Text of the *Śayanāsanavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. Part One," *Buddhist Literature 2* (2001): 92–196.

> When the householder Anāthapiṇḍada had given the Jetavana Monastery to the Community from the Four Directions it occurred to him then: "Since there are no paintings this monastery is ugly (*di ri mo ma bris pas mi sdug ste*). If, therefore, the Blessed One were to authorize it, it should have paintings." So thinking he went to the Blessed One and sat down at one side. So seated the householder Anāthapiṇḍada said this to the Blessed One: "Reverend, the Jetavana is ugly because I did not have paintings made. Therefore, if the Blessed One were to authorize it, I will have paintings made there."
>
> The Blessed One said: "Householder, with my authorization paintings therefore must be made!"[69]

As if to make sure that no one missed the point the redactors repeat it twice: There should be paintings in the monastery because without them it is ugly or not beautiful. And no other reason is here given.[70] The text continues with the Buddha giving specific instructions on the placement of specific paintings—the Great Miracle and the Wheel of Rebirth are to be painted on the porch; the garland of *Jātakas* on the gallery; a *yakṣa* holding a club at the door of the Buddha's shrine; the various Elders in the meeting hall, etc.[71] This

[69] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 225a.3ff. Though much of this account, found in the *Kṣudrakavastu*, was summarized or partly translated already by both W. Woodville Rockhill (*The Life of the Buddha* [London, 1907], 48 n. 2) and Marcelle Lalou ("Notes sur la décoration des monastères bouddhiques," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 5.3 [1930]: 183–185), this important opening paragraph was entirely ignored.

[70] Virtually this same reason, and it alone, is repeatedly given elsewhere in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* to justify several significant elements of both *stūpas* and images, and several elements of the ritual activity directed toward them. In the *Uttaragrantha*, for example, when Anāthapiṇḍada has a *stūpa* built for the hair and nails of the Blessed One, and "when, because it was not plastered, it was ugly (*mi mdzes pa*)", he then seeks and receives permission to have it plastered, repeating in full the reason: "so long as it remains unplastered it is ugly (*mi mdzes pa*)". In the same way it is said that a *stūpa* is not beautiful when there are no lamps, when the railing surrounding it has no gateway (*rta babs* = *toraṇa*), when flowers given to it wither, etc., and in each case this aesthetic consideration, and it alone, results in the Blessed One ordering that this aesthetic deficiency be remedied, that *stūpas* be provided with lamps, their railings be provided with *toraṇas*, etc (see *Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 114a.3ff; 120b.1. A fuller summary of these passages, not always fully dependable, can be found in Pema Dorjee, *Stupa and its Technology. A Tibeto-Buddhist Perspective* [New Delhi, 1996], 4–7. Dorjee paraphrases *mi mdzes par gyur na/nas* as "would appear unattractive," "did not look nice," "looked unattractive'). The same 'argument', using the same language, is also used to justify providing "the image of the Bodhisattva" (*byang chub sems dpa'i gzugs*; i.e of Siddhārtha) with ornaments, carrying the image on a wagon, providing that wagon with flags, banners, etc. In each case, again, it is said that the reason for doing so was so that the image or processional wagon would not be ugly (*mi mdzes pa*)—*Uttaragrantha*, Derge Pa 137b.4ff.

[71] We have a digest of this part of the text preserved in Sanskrit. See *Vinayasūtra* (Sankrityayana) 114.16–.31.

much of the tradition has been known, if not fully appreciated, for some time. But an equally important text related to the paintings in the Jetavana that occurs in the same section of our Code has gone completely unnoticed. Its purport will be almost immediately familiar:[72]

> After the householder Anāthapiṇḍada had "given" the Jetavana Monastery to the Community of Monks from the Four Directions, and had had it finished both inside and out with various sorts of colors, and had had paintings done, then crowds of people who lived in Śrāvastī heard how the householder Anāthapiṇḍada had finished the Jetavana both inside and out with various sorts of colors and paintings, and had made it remarkably fine, and many hundreds of thousands of people came then to see the Jetavana.

The text to this point is not subtle and it is hard to imagine that any monk who was in charge of a monastery could miss the point: People would hear about a monastery that had paintings, and they would come—in very large numbers. But the rest of the text is no more subtle. It concerns a brahman from Śrāvastī to whom, the text says, "The king and his ministers and the local people were much devoted"—paintings will apparently not just attract people, but the better sort as well. The text says that this brahman had received from the royal court "an extremely costly woolen blanket" (*chen po la 'os pa'i la ba*), and then—by now almost predictably:[73]

> Once when he was wearing that blanket he went to the Jetavana to see its wonders (*ltad mo, kūtahala*). Just as soon as he saw it he was greatly moved (*dad pa chen po skyes nas*) and he gave that woolen blanket to the Community of Monks from the Four Directions.

The first thing to note is that here we again have a text that makes explicit what is only strongly implied in others: The presence of things beautiful—paintings which are explicitly said to be "a wonder" or "marvel"—attract people. Here it is explicitly said that the brahman went to the monastery to *see* "its wonders," not, again be it noted, to see the Buddha or the monks or hear the Dharma. Apart from this we see only what we have already seen before: An individual sees what is beautiful, is deeply moved, and makes a large donation. It is the donation that the text is in fact most interested in; its value

[72] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 262b.4.
[73] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 262b.7.

is explicitly stated: The blanket was not only a royal gift but is also explicitly described as "extremely costly." Its value is further emphasized by the fact that as the text continues the brahman tries to get it back! And it is even more strongly emphasized by the further fact that its donation requires and effects a significant change in established monastic rules. Prior to this occasion the rule established by the Buddha was that all cloth donated to the Community must be cut up and divided equally among the monks.[74] But the donation of this costly cloth led the Buddha himself to modify that rule—to, it is easy to see, the material benefit of the monks. He is made to rule: "Henceforth, monks, whatever donation of cloth of this sort falls to the Community must be sold for cash (*kārṣāpaṇa*) and the cash divided among the monks (*de lta bas na dge 'dun la gos kyi rnyed pa de lta bu grub pa gang yin pa de kar sha pa ṇa dag tu bsgyur la kar sha pa ṇa dag bgo bar bya'o*). This ruling which *requires* the monks to engage in commercial transactions and act as cloth merchants is, in fact, the main point of the entire account. But with monks selling cloth and buying and selling rice and a whole host of other such activities, it is hardly surprising, then, that large numbers of coins have been found at Buddhist monastic sites.

These texts dealing with the paintings in the Jetavana are probably the most important texts in our Code dealing with monastic art. There are, of course, others, but there is little point in treating them in detail. They all, in one way or another, tell the same story. The well known text dealing with the Wheel of Rebirth painted on the porch of the Jetavana is, in the end, about the donation of a monastic feast that cost five hundred *kārṣāpaṇas*, in spite of the fact that the painting was originally intended for didactic purposes or to frighten the monks.[75] The account of the painted image of the Buddha on cloth that was sent to a Sri Lankan princess is, in the end, about a magnificent donation of pearls which provided one of the occasions on which the Buddha himself defined the threefold economic

[74] *Kṣudrakavastu*, Derge Tha 205b.7–207b.3.

[75] *Vibhaṅga*, Derge Ja 113b.3–122a.7. A Sanskrit version of this text has come down to us as an extract now found at *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil) 298.24–311.10. For a translation of the first part of the text from its Chinese translation see Jean Przyluski, "La roue de la vie à Ajaṇṭā," *Journal asiatique* (1920): 313–319; and for Sanskrit fragments of a seemingly similar text see Bernard Pauly, "Fragments sanskrits de haute asie (mission pelliot)," *Journal asiatique* (1959): 228–40.

and corporate structure of the monastic Community. The account culminates in a ruling that mandates how the three equal parts of such a donation must be used.[76] Even the important series of texts in our Code which deal with the specifically named "Image in the Shade of the Jambu Tree" follows the same pattern. This specifically named image provides another remarkable linkage between our *Vinaya* and the art of the Northwest. Several clearly identifiable examples of this named image have already been recognized in the Gandhāran corpus.[77] There is, in addition, an inscribed Kuṣāṇa example made in Mathurā but found at Sāñcī.[78] The texts which deal with this image also provide a unique and detailed set of rules governing monastic image processions, image processions which are explicitly said to generate large donations and are in fact clearly meant to do so. This series of texts in fact, as now must seem perfectly fitting, ends with another set of rules governing monastic auctions which turn those abundant offerings into cash.[79]

What we see and have seen here is the monastic view of the function of beauty and what we call "art" in the monastery. There may have been other views—in fact there certainly were—but they are not expressed in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, an important monastic Code that almost certainly was written or redacted in Early Northwest India. In the Early Northwest those other views appear to have been expressed by dissident monks who would come to form what we call "the Mahāyāna," but they—like St. Bernard and for many of the same reasons—appear at least originally not to have approved of art, and to have had little or no interest in promoting elaborate monasteries.[80] All of this, at the very least, must be sobering. Clearly

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[76] *Adhikaraṇavastu* (Gnoli) 63.16–69.2—*ato yo buddhasya bhāgas tena gandhakuṭyām pralepaṃ dadata; yo dharmasya sa dharmadharāṇām pudgalānāṃ; yaḥ saṃghasya taṃ samagraḥ saṃgho bhajayatu;* cf. Schopen 1995, 500 [= *BMBM*, 119].

[77] See most recently A.M. Quagliotti, "A Gandharan Bodhisattva with Sūrya on the Headdress and Related Problems," in *South Asian Archaeology 1997*. Serie Orientale Roma 90.3, eds. M. Taddei & G. de Marco (Rome, 2000) 1125–1154, and figs. 3, 4 and 6 for good photos of three examples.

[78] See most recently M. Willis, "The Sānchī Bodhisattva dated Kuṣāṇa Year 28," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6 (1999/2000) 269–273.

[79] The fullest treatment of these texts so far may be found in Ch. IV of Gregory Schopen, *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India* (Honolulu, 2005) entitled "On Sending Monks Back to their Books: Cult and Conservatism in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism."

[80] See Schopen 1999, 279–324; and Ch. IV of Schopen 2005.

we have much more to learn about the Buddhist monks who handled the coins we collect and used the pots that we classify. They were not, it seems, what we have been told they were.

Abbreviations

BMBM	Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu, 2004)
Derge	*The Tibetan Tripitaka. Taipei Edition*, ed. A.W. Barber (Taipei, 1991): all references, unless otherwise indicated, are to the *'Dul ba* section of the *Bka' 'gyur*.
Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil)	Edward B. Cowell and Robert A. Neil, *The Divyāvadāna. A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge, U.K., 1886)
GMs	Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III.1 (Srinagar, 1947), III.2 (Srinagar, 1942), III.3 (Srinagar, 1943), III.4 (Calcutta, 1950)
Pāli *Vinaya*	Hermann Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language* (London, 1879–1883) 5 vols.
Poṣadhavastu (Hu-von Hinüber)	Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, *Das Poṣadhavastu.* Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik. Monographie 13 (Reinbek, Germany, 1994)
Pravrajyāvastu (Eimer)	Helmut Eimer, *Rab tu 'byung ba'i gži. Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins.* Asiatische Forschungen 82 (Wiesbaden, 1983) 2 vols.
Saṅghabhedavastu (Gnoli)	Raniero Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu. Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the*

	Mūlasarvāstivādin. Serie Orientale Roma 49.1–.2 (Rome, 1977–78)
Śayanāsanavastu (Gnoli)	Raniero Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu. Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Serie Orientale Roma 50 (Rome, 1978)
Vinayasūtra (Sankrityayana)	Rahul Sankrityayana, *Vinayasūtra of Bhadanta Guṇaprabha*. Singhi Jain Śāstra Śikṣāpītha. Singhi Jain Series 74 (Bombay, 1981)

* In a stylistically slightly variant form this paper has also been published as Ch. 2 of *BMBM*.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE PRE-KUṢĀṆA AND EARLY KUṢĀṆA LEVELS AT SONKH

Herbert Härtel†

The excavation at Sonkh, carried out during eight successive seasons between 1966 and 1974 by the Archaeological Mission of the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, is still to this day the most informative archaeological source for the determination of historical sequences in the old State of Mathurā in northern India (Fig. 12.1). The site of Sonkh, c. 22 km southwest of Mathurā City, consists of a plateau which originally extended over a region of definitely more than 300,000 sqm, but is now diminished to a large extent. However, an area of 320 × 280 m (i.e. about 90,000 sqm of the old mound) still exists surrounded by fields in the west, north and east (Fig. 12.2). To the southwest, the plateau ends rather abruptly on the main road from Govardhan to Bharatpur. Near this road the plateau is dominated by an elevation hiding generations of fortifications and urban settlements built one above the other. The north-eastern corner of the citadel's construction was the main area of the excavation at Sonkh.

Digging in terraces, the work resulted in the exposure of altogether forty main levels (Fig. 12.3) from top to the virgin soil, the highest belonging to the Jāṭ period in the nineteenth century A.D., the lowest containing Painted Grey Ware material down to c.eight hundred B.C. For the aims of this volume the Levels 32 (Śuṅga Cultural Phase) to 20 (Early Kuṣāṇa) are the relevant levels. Historically, these levels cover the close of the Śuṅga Cultural Phase, the period of the Mitras as well as of the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā, and the early Kuṣāṇa horizons. While Levels 32 to 30, dated in the third quarter of the second century B.C., provide us with materials like punch-marked and die-struck coins as well as human and animal terracotta figurines,

† The Editor is both saddened that this had to be the last paper written by my esteemed colleague, and honoured that it could appear in this volume.

still showing the so-called Śuṅga features, Level 29 heralds a new epoch with important changes in many a sphere of life. While from Level 36 to 30 all buildings were built of mud walls, the structures of Levels 29 and 28 were for the first time constructed of mud-bricks. To this period belong two remarkable uninscribed die-struck coins, one showing a standing human figure before a bull on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse, the other with an indistinct obverse but again the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The figure before the bull is of the same type as the later Śiva before bull motif. Apart from stray finds, punch-marked coins are not the dominant currency anymore. Still more conspicuous, with respect to objects of art, is the change taking place in the production of terracotta human figurines. The predominant product is now the red/brown plaque made from an open mould in which the back gets flattened by hand. These plaques are, as a rule, upright in shape and quite often colour-slipped, rarely using black. These changes announce, as the next upper levels prove, the end of the Śuṅga Cultural Phase and the transition to the period of the Local State of Mathurā under the dynasty of the Mitra rulers.

The Mitra Levels 28 to 25

Although there exist a number of similar sites, as for example Āring and Rāḷ, no other site in the district of Mathurā has been sufficiently excavated up until now. Therefore, no comparable data are available. But the cultural marks left in the mound at Sonkh convey an adequate idea of the way of life under the Mitras in Mathurā State. As to the other Local States of Northern India, one may hope for level-to-level excavations at contemporary Mitra sites to get a standard of comparison. It is quite possible that a Local State may have been founded somewhat earlier than Mathurā State, but the disintegration of the Śuṅga Kingdom began most probably in the second half of the second century B.C.

The beginning of the new era became evident in Level 28, where two special coins came to light being the first inscribed coins found in Sonkh (Fig. 12.4). Written in Brāhmī, their reading runs *gomitasa*, i.e. "of Gomitra", the first ruler of the Mitra dynasty of Mathurā. Considering all archaeological details, Level 28 is to be dated close to 100 B.C. From here until c. 20 B.C., (i.e. from Level 28 to 25),

four rulers of the Mitra dynasty, namely Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra could be traced. Of them, Sūryamitra was by far the most important and, presumably, reigned for the longest period. In his time, remarkable changes took place concerning the way of life. Level 27, the main Sūryamitra horizon, documented by eight clearly legible coins with his name and ten ⅛ *kāṣārpaṇas* of this level, is the first one with buildings constructed of baked bricks (Fig. 12.5). The excavated structural remains of this level give testimony to an imaginative method of construction changing the layout of the ground-plan from unit to unit. The plots follow one another in a row and are enclosed on two sides by streets. Some of the houses show special comfort. They have a bathroom with a deep well made of terracotta rings. The houses were furnished with gable roofs and covered with roof tiles. This method was followed also in Mitra levels 26 and 25, so that levels 27 to 25 should be considered as a unit on the ground of building techniques. Gabled roofs are a speciality of the Mitra levels alone. No later structures, including the Kuṣāṇa settlements, yielded house constructions with this amount of comfort. The objects of art and crafts found in the Mitra levels are extensive. Coins, terracotta figurines, votive tanks, seals, amulets and the articles of daily life including characteristic pottery vessels throw sufficient light on the cultural, religious and social scenes of the time.The succession of Mitra coins continues on top of the Sūryamitra Level 27; inscribed coins of Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra follow in the upper phase of Level 26 and in Level 25. It is remarkable that coins of these Mitra rulers were nowhere intermixed. Therefore, the conclusion may be drawn that, at the time of the Mitra kings and contrary to the Kuṣāṇa norm, circulating coins would loose their validity with the death of the respective ruler.

The terracotta figurines of this period are of a greater variety in make, style and iconography. The plaques found in Levels 28 to 25 were, as already mentioned, made from an open mould and depict predominantly female figures whose meaning is difficult to ascertain. The general population followed a folk religion which had within its orbit minor devatās whose names have now been lost, particularly in the case of Yakṣinīs, Yakṣas, Nāginīs and Nāgas. There are females with fish in one hand, the "winged" females, the women with an attendant in adoration or with the left arm raised holding a flower in the hand (Fig. 12.6). Fragments of male figures show clear Yakṣa types or represent types with more secular features as for instance

a musician, a turbaned man in adoration, or riders made in the round to fit on their horses. Terracotta couples found in the Mitra levels have to be taken as "husband-and-wife" type because of the position of the man on the proper right side of the woman, or as a *mithuna* plaque when showing a couple in reverse position.

The collection of terracotta animal figures from the Mitra levels permits us to conclude that now the horse becomes as frequently modelled as the elephant, the favorite animal type of the Mauryan and Śuṅga Cultural Phase. Remarkable also is the increasing number of humped bulls and birds. Most surprising is the fact that monkeys appear exclusively in this Mitra period. From the condition of finds we can say that these monkeys are all three-legged.

The first inscribed objects uncovered in Sonkh are seals and seal impressions found in the Mitra levels (Fig. 12.7). The three oldest seals are unusually inscribed in the positive, i.e. the impression appears in the negative. All Mitra seals and impressions are inscribed in Brāhmī. They give the name of the owner, as for instance. *Anarabhūti, Sarva, Pīḍadakhaka, Anubhūti, Nandikara*, and others. Some of the seals show symbols, mainly *svastika, hala* and the *taurine* sign. *Svastika, nandyāvarta, lotus* rosette and *taurine* symbol appear also as appliqué figures on the shoulders of larger water jars of this period. A terracotta amulet in the shape of a hand carries the symbols *svastika, nandyāvarta* and *indradhvaja* marked on the palm (Fig. 12.8). This obviously popular combination appears once more incised on a stone quern of the Sūryamitra level 27.

Another group of finds, the votive tanks, reveals a clear religious connection. The use of votive tanks for performing domestic *pūja* is not restricted to a short period. The finds at Sonkh cover the span of time from the Mauryan to the medieval period. But the bulk of votive tanks from Sonkh hails undoubtedly from the time of the Mitras of Mathurā in the first century B.C., the most inventive phase for votive tanks. Although the different types of vessels do not really betray to whom the *pūja* was offered, the most frequent type is noteworthy (Fig. 12.9). It is the rectangular water tank with birds and lamps upon the rim and with an integrated building (temple) placed on a platform supported by pillars which can be reached by the attached staircase. A thick stem of a lotus stands upright with an open blossom swimming on the water when the tank was filled. On the ground of the tank, figures of snake, fish or frog are applied. Shaped as a water tank and showing a ladder from the ground to

the platform, the conclusion may be justified that a water god was worshipped here.

In this connection it is necessary to direct attention to a second place of excavation at the north of the citadel elevation (Fig. 12.10). The originally larger area of the site on the eastern, western and northern sides had, as already mentioned, been ploughed by the peasants of the surrounding villages. In the course of time, all the historical ground around the citadel was converted to fields extending to the height of the old Painted Grey Ware levels. But c. 400 meters north of the main area of excavation and remarkably close to the present canal, an island of c. 3000 sqm rises above the fields. At this place, an old stone sculpture had once been found accidentally, which the local people began to worship. A small building constructed around this sculpture marks the ground as a temple site. In this way, the surrounding area had remained untouched. The sculpture, a Kuṣāṇa Nāgarāja relief carved on four sides, is still worshipped today as Cāmardevī by the women of the neighbouring villages. A trial trench on the southern side of this modern and still existing temple platform revealed a round structure of mud-bricks immediately below the surface of the island. Very soon it became evident that this round wall was part of an apsidal temple, the remains of which belonged to, at least, two different phases (Fig. 12.11). The base of the earliest phase of the temple marks the lowest stratum of building activities undertaken in this island area. The structure is laid out in an eastwest direction with the entrance on the eastern side. The cella is surrounded by 23 piles of baked bricks forming the foundation of a row of pillars. The cella and the pillar foundations are enclosed by a wall built of baked bricks of the same size as the mud-bricks of the apsidal structure (48 × 23 × 7 cm). From edge to edge the enclosure wall measures 12.32 × 8.25 m. Remains of roof-tiles found beside the wall indicate a larger, roofed entrance area.

Unfortunately, it can not be ascertained to which cult this oldest sanctuary was dedicated. In the immediate surroundings not a single object was found which could supply some evidence in this respect. But the date of the earliest phase of this apsidal temple is perfectly clear. The size of the baked bricks used for the apse, the enclosing wall and the pillar foundations as well as the type of roof-tiles appear in exactly this combination only in Level 27 of the main excavation area. Such a coincidence can only mean that phase 1 of the apsidal

temple is contemporaneous with the Sūryamitra level and has to be dated in the beginning of the first century B.C. The temple had been in use up to the Kuṣāṇa period when it was dedicated to the Nāga cult, as will be shown later on. In view of this fact and of the remarkably frequent occurrence of the above described votive tanks in the Mitra levels, it is an obvious conclusion that the earliest phase of the apsidal temple was devoted to the Nāga worship too.

The Kṣatrapa Levels 24 and 23

Based on the archaeological data, the Mitra period ends with Level 25 in about ± 25 B.C. While the situation of Level 25 led to the conclusion that towards the close of the Mitra period the regular building activities had nearly come to an end. Level 24 presents quite a different sight. There appears a newly revived building movement freed from the town planning ideas of the former levels with the exception of a few small buildings erected on older foundations. It is true that Level 24 no longer shows the built-up areas and the strict partition in blocks bordered by roads as in Levels 27 to 25, but the large new building complexes with bathroom and toilet within the houses speak of a new time of wealth and prosperity in Sonkh. A remarkable and quite singular feature of this time, worth mentioning, was the protection of the outer corners of the house blocks against damage caused by vehicles (bullock carts) by vertically placed large blocks of sandstone (Fig. 12.12).

The earliest Kṣatrapa coins recovered in between Levels 25 to 24 are two specimens of Hagāmaṣa and one of the Rāja Rāmadatta (Fig. 12.13). Immediately above, in the Levels 24 and 23, fourteen more Kṣatrapa coins were unearthed within the houses and on the roads. One of them is a Mathurā issue of Rājūvula, but the majority were coins of Śoḍāsa. In the same levels three more Rāmadatta specimens were found. This is a remarkable find situation. It seems as if the rule of the Kṣatrapas overlapped the reign of Rāmadatta and it is noteworthy that only Rāmadatta coins were detected and none of the other numerous Dattas. This result of the Sonkh excavation raises the question whether the dynasty of the Dattas has to be considered as a continuous one of fifteen rulers in succession. Or, is it not more probable that some of the Dattas ruled concurrently in subdistricts of Mathurā State and the surrounding area, the period

of their reign thus extending over a few decades only? It would be quite interesting to know which of the Datta coins were found in other parts of Mathurā District and the neighbouring States. D.C. Sircar's dating of the Dattas subsequent to the Kṣatrapas, and into the Kuṣāṇa time, could not be confirmed at Sonkh, contrary to his quite acceptable date for the Mitras. Not a single Datta coin has been found among the rich coin finds in the Kuṣāṇa levels, following the Kṣatrapa levels directly and without any interval.

In its structural remains and diverse finds, Levels 24 and 23 represent a culture which is a mixture of indigenous (Indian) and foreign (Śaka) elements, best shown by 1) the just mentioned appearance of Kṣatrapa coins along with those of Rāmadatta of the Datta dynasty, by 2) the intermingling of Indian and foreign pottery shapes and types, and above all by 3) the find of a seal impression carrying the name of *Anaṅgabala* written twice, once in Brāhmī and once in Kharoṣṭhī characters on one and the same lump of clay (Fig. 12.14). While it looks as if the Kṣatrapas were quite ready to conform to new conditions of religious life and art, it is highly interesting to watch their perseverance in the faith of the Mother Goddess and, along with her, in the preservation of the customary and presumably traditional terracotta figuration of her which is quite different from all Indian Mother Goddess figurines known up to this period. The Mother Goddess is the predominant figure among the terracotta human figurines found in the Kṣatrapa levels. They begin with rather crudely made female figures coming from and belonging to terracotta votive tanks equipped with seated Mother Goddesses. Later on we meet with seated solitary figures of a more sophisticated artistic mode. The most remarkable find of the first type is a rectangular votive tank with the remains of four Mother Goddesses seated along its walls (Fig. 12.15). The importance of this tank lies in the assemblage of the figures. All of the remaining four females are presumably carrying a child in their left arm as is the case with the best preserved of them. Between the third and the fourth figure the basic remains of a fifth one are clearly visible. On the missing opposite side, two more women were seated. Therefore this tank contained at least seven Mātṛkā figures of the same type. It is not possible to decide whether the completely missing fourth side of the vessel was empty or occupied by another such figure, sitting opposite the second woman from the left, but if this is so, then the total number of figures would be eight. As there is no doubt, whatsoever, that

the women represent a group of Mother Goddesses, the object has to be identified as a *saptamātṛkā* or *aṣṭamātṛkā* tank for domestic worship. A part of the *pūja* must have consisted in placing food in the bowl in the lap of each Goddess.

The more artful type of Mother Goddesses, usually larger seated solitary figures, came to light only in layers of the second phase of Level 23 belonging to the end of the Kṣatrapa period in Sonkh (Fig. 12.16). The head of these figures shows the characteristics of the developed Kṣatrapa type: The face with its receding cheeks, the narrow forehead and distinctly small mouth, is dominated by a big nose merging at its root into the angular but unmarked eyebrow lines. The deep cavity of the eyes gives prominence to the framed eyeballs, the pupil of which is marked by a sharp prick. The broadly modeled ears are adorned with plain discs. A ribbon is laid along the forehead and joins behind the head in a wavy fashion at the neck. Typical also is the loosely arranged necklace hanging down between the breasts.

Judging from the Sonkh Kṣatrapa terracotta materials, at least two elements of the late type of figures are not only new in the realm of Mathurā terracotta art but contributed considerably to the appearance of the subsequent Kuṣāṇa terracotta figures as well. For one, there is the production of larger figures seated on or ending in a stand. But among all the strange elements in this Kṣatrapa type, the punctured eyes with the piercing look (Fig. 12.17) seem to have made the strongest impression on the contemporary Mathurā artists, because from now on the faces of the males and females depicted in terracotta, generally and for a long time, show these punctured eyes. They are subdued or missing only in the less frequent classical or more sophisticated Kuṣāṇa terracotta faces from Mathurā. It is therefore not surprising to find the punctured eyes already with terracotta figurines of female and male figures, and Gods and Goddesses from the earliest Kuṣāṇa level in Sonkh.

The secular male figures from the Levels 24 and 23 are like the female type with regard to the shape of face and the ribbon on the head, and are identifiable mostly by the moustache under the nose. Drummers, three-legged figures and diverse unknown types continue to appear as in earlier levels. But two fragments of all the terracotta plaques depicting human figures need special attention. The first hails from the earliest Kṣatrapa phase in Level 24; the second belongs to the latest layers of this period, merging already into the earliest Kuṣāṇa level.

The early fragment shows the upper part of a female (Fig. 12.18). The face with its full round cheeks is dominated by the straight, vertical nose, the horizontal eyebrows, protruding eyes between closed eyelids, and an extremely narrow forehead. The coiffure consists of matted locks parted in two halves and combed in separate directions. On the right side of the face a strand of hair is falling to the shoulder. It is not clear if the earrings differ, but it looks like they do. A two-stringed necklace is loosely hanging down from the neck. In my opinion, formed after persistent study of the original, the female was four-armed. The proper left two arms are broken away, the right ones part from the shoulder; the back arm is lowered beside the breast, the front arm extends diagonally across the body and seems to embrace something that she is pressing against her left shoulder. One of the left arms might have supported this action. The object the female embraces looks like an animal's head with an open snout on the extreme edge of the piece. I suggest that this figure is the earliest depiction of the Goddess battling the buffalo demon. In case the interpretation is right, this would be a version preceding the Kuṣāṇa form where the Goddess is strangling the Mahiṣa's neck with her left front arm only. Doris Srinivasan,[1] dealing with the multi-armed Warrior Goddess, would agree that the sequence of the Goddess battling the buffalo by strangling may begin with this image, if it is to be considered a representation of her. I personally am convinced of the explanation given above.

The second fragment is the upper part of a plaque showing a human figure in indistinct action (Fig. 12.19). Stylistically, the face has receding cheeks and an extremely low forehead. As the right shoulder is chipped off, the identification of the figure is once more made rather difficult. On examination of the original, the author offers the following interpretation: The figure is a female because of the round ornament on the forehead and a number of armlets on the right front arm crossing the chest horizontally. The figure is four or six-armed and is another early specimen of the Warrior Goddess. The second right arm is lowered to the broken-off back of the buffalo. To the right, the head of the animal is stretched upwards, the horns bent backwards covering the hand of the outstretched right arm of

[1] Doris Meth Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes. Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997), 284.

the Goddess. Regrettably the identification of both the described figures, although based on a thorough study of the original, might not satisfy everyone. But it is my firm conviction that these fragments represent, in fact, the two earliest depictions of the Warrior Goddess battling the buffalo demon by strangling, a type to be distinguished from the Gupta version where the Goddess kills the demon with the *triśūla* or *vajra*.

The cult of the Mother Goddess (with child) and the beginning of the worship of a Warrior Goddess seem to mould the religious life of the Kṣatrapa period in Sonkh. The question arises whether there existed special places of worship or not. What about the apsidal temple situated to the north of the main excavation field? As already discussed, the first phase of the temple constructed in about 100 B.C., (i.e. in the Mitra period), was followed by a second phase strongly reconstructed in the early Kuṣāṇa time. Unfortunately, the events in the time between these two main phases of the temple remain in the dark. A fragment of wall touching the southeast corner of the temple island, built of baked bricks of the size 40.0 × 26.0 × 6.0 cm, and layers of same sized bricks interspersed among the remains of walls of a monastery-like cell construction north of the temple, indicate a transitional building phase which, according to the scale of brick sizes used at Sonkh, has to be dated into the Datta/Kṣatrapa period. The extent of the architectural activities during this time is, regrettably, not reconstructable and no findings, of images or of any other object can help to clarify the situation.

In this connection it is necessary to mention the emergence of another apsidal temple growing up during the Kuṣāṇa period, straight in the center of the habitation area of the citadel. The question remains, whether this structure was founded already under the Kṣatrapas or not? This rather small and simple temple was constructed, rebuilt, extended and overbuilt during nine phases in the Kuṣāṇa to Gupta times. To avoid demolishing the walls and other structural remains resting upon and interlocking with one another, the excavation team did not dare to lay open the deepest foundation which would have meant pulling down nearly all later parts of the masonry. To what extent one could expect earlier phases of the temple below the structures of Level 22 must remain unsolved. Yet, mention should be made of a large block of sandstone embedded in or overbuilt by an inner wall at the southeast corner of phase 1 of the temple (Level 22). It is undoubtedly a street cornerstone so

typical for Level 23. The finds in and around the temple hail from the Kuṣāṇa period and will be discussed later.

Returning to the terracotta finds, it is noteworthy that among the animal figurines found in the Kṣatrapa (as well as the following Kuṣāṇa) levels the elephant and horse seem to have gone out of fashion; they are replaced by diverse types of humped bulls. This scene will change again in the Gupta period when the horse, all of a sudden, is "in" again, though now depicted differently when compared with the horses of the preceding periods.

The seals and seal-impressions are of the same type as before, namely, names and titles are written in Brāhmī. While most of them show the legend in a clear straight line, one is a sort of "riddle" seal: five negative *akṣaras* are arbitrarily scattered in the round. Put together in the right way these read *kāmadatasa*, the seal "of Kāmadatta". Other names are, *Kāṇa, Rajatika, Gopāla, Sujāta*, or, a title, *Mahāmātra*.

In consideration of the subject of this volume we have not mentioned so far the development and frequent change of pottery types and shapes in the previous levels. But one special change which took place in the Kṣatrapa Level 23 is noteworthy. The shape of pottery as found in Mitra Levels 26 and 25 was replaced by new types of earthenware. Also it cannot be overlooked that along with the independent ceramics of Level 23, the first examples and elements of the stamped pottery, so well known from the Kuṣāṇa levels, appear. With the *svastika* and *nandyāvarta* patterns on these vessels, they display the Datta element, and represent, considering the use of these symbols, some sort of a link between the Mitra and the Kuṣāṇa periods.

The Early Kuṣāṇa Levels 22 to 20

The Kuṣāṇa period in Sonkh is present in no less than seven main levels, namely Levels 22 to 16. The excavators were fully aware how important it would be to observe the transition from the Kuṣāṇa to the Kṣatrapa levels (or vice versa). In several places they investigated again and again whether there were any signs of an interval indicating a temporary absence of colonization. However, the investigation proved beyond doubt that the mound of Sonkh, in these lower levels, was built continuously and without interruption.

Level 22, the earliest of the Kuṣāṇa horizons, was built directly on the worn out structures of Level 23 in its late phase (Fig. 12.20).

While this level takes over in its transitional stage the brick sizes from the preceding level, the houses of Levels 21 to 16 (time of Vāsudeva) were generally built of bricks of the usual Kuṣāṇa size of 37 × 23 × 5 cm.

The advent of the Kuṣāṇa period is best documented in the overwhelming mass of stamped Kuṣāṇa potteries accompanied by diverse finds of terracotta objects, especially human figurines, of stone sculptures, metal images and metal objects, and a good number of seals and seal impressions recording names in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī. The earliest coins are those of Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka I, appearing side by side (Fig. 12.21). The early Kuṣāṇa phase extends over the three Levels 22 to 20, followed directly by the three Huviṣka Levels 19 to 17. Not all the houses and building structures of the successive Kuṣāṇa levels are equally well preserved. Layers of ashes and other residues indicate that some part of the habitation area was destroyed either by fire or by force. Quite often, the older building materials were reused for new constructions. The classification of individual levels is facilitated not only by the finds, but also by the circumstance that most of the buildings were rebuilt according to a fixed plan, after the older horizons were filled up and levelled. Every now and then, the rows of walls in the new structures coincided with the preceding walls, since the northwestern direction of building was approximately adhered to throughout the Kuṣāṇa settlement in Sonkh. Thus the old walls served as foundations. Where the building plan differed, new foundations were laid without any consideration of the older constructions, quite often cutting through the old brickwork (Fig. 12.22). Only one particular building remained in the same place. This is the already mentioned structure marked as Apsidal Temple no. 1. Rebuilt, extended and overbuilt during all the Kuṣāṇa levels, this temple is preserved in its outer walls.The apse however, has in part been destroyed in the 18th century by deepening a ditch. In the course of digging, three boundary walls of the apse and at least four superstructures upon the walls opening to the east were exposed. Finally, the preserved parts of the inner apsidal wall measured 3.20 m in height. This temple is situated in all probability in the center of the successive settlements of the city. Its dimensions of 8.85 × 9.85 m prove that the structure is rather small. It was undoubtedly dedicated to a Hinduistic cult. Clear evidence for this is a stone relief of a seated Mātṛkā, 19cm high, with two adorants on either side. The relief was found on the floor belonging to Phase 4 (Level 20)

of the temple, just in front of a platform constructed as a sort of altar in the curve of the apse (Fig. 12.23). It was presumably reinstalled from building stage to building stage. In view of this find, it is noteworthy that a number of the Sonkh terracotta plaques depicting the Goddess battling the buffalo demon (still without *triśūla*) hail directly from the temple or its immediate surroundings.

In this connection it may be useful to throw a glance at the terracotta art objects found in the Kuṣāṇa levels in general, especially those of Levels 22 to 20. *Technically*, the Kuṣāṇa figurines exhibit all the methods of terracotta production known from older times. There are the freestanding and handmade figures, the moulded plaques and the figures in the round made from two moulds. Conspicuous is the presence of a large number of a new type; these are big seated figures, either solid or hollow. Judging from the extent of the fragments found, (legs, arms, and bodies of voluminous figures), they must have existed in considerable number. The invention of such big types goes back to the Kṣatrapas, but the Kuṣāṇas formed them in their own way, placing the seated figure on a square or round base. The artistic quality of these products is, mostly, poor; they represent, nevertheless, a stylistic type of their own (Fig. 12.24). With the exception of a more limited, rather sophisticated group of figures or plaques, Kuṣāṇa terracottas are dominated by a technique of carving most of the details into the surface of the clay by more or less deep incisions or pricks. This technique has in part been taken over from the Kṣatrapas, especially the already mentioned pricked pupils of the eyes, lending the face such a piercing look. The same may be observed with the ears, often protruding straight sidewards and being punctured on the upper or lower edge of the flat and long ear. The fondness to incise details and to prick eyes did not even stop as the plaques were moulded; these finishing touches were applied after having been taken out of the mould.

The type of sophisticated or typical Kuṣāṇa terracotta, comparable to the quality of stone sculptures of the time, is best to be seen in the hollow plaques functioning, for example, as rattles (Fig. 12.25). Such pieces raise the question why the bulk of terracotta figurines of this period in Mathurā is of such low quality, even though Mathurā is the place of perhaps the most important and inventive art center in the early historical period of India.

From the *iconographical* point of view the Kuṣāṇa terracotta finds from Sonkh represent a manifold, but still limited number of Gods

and Goddesses; there are examples of the Mother Goddess, the Warrior Goddess battling the buffalo demon (without *triśūla*), Kubera, Yakṣa, the Nāga. Quite dominating is the group of plaques with the depiction of the Goddess battling the buffalo demon in the well-known mode of the Kuṣāṇa period. The buffalo is standing in front of the Goddess on its hind legs with head uplifted, stretching its body across her thighs. The Goddess herself is pressing down the spine of the buffalo with her right lower hand and grabbing the head by the throat. In this scene, the Goddess is either four or six-armed. In the four-armed version, the upper two hands carry the dagger and shield or, in the later Kuṣāṇa phase, the shield and short-shafted *triśūla*, indicating the transition to the subsequent Gupta type of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī. When six-armed, the uppermost hands hold a garland (Fig. 12.26). The plaques and fragments of the Warrior Goddess attacking the buffalo demon from Sonkh show, from Levels 23 to 16, a chronological development of the iconography of this Goddess which ends with a plaque where the Goddess is depicted with a shortshafted *triśūla* or *vajra* but now the activated and lethal weapon in the upper hands is ready to be thrusted down into the body of the Mahiṣa (Fig. 12.27). The next most popular God, appearing first in Level 20, is Kubera, depicted as a big seated figure made in the round and shown as potbellied, carrying symbols in the two hands. Less frequent are the terracotta figures depicting a Nāga; they appear either in a single plaque or in a medallion. In light of the rich finds of Nāga figures in the surroundings of the second phase of Apsidal Temple 2 (see below), the limited number of Nāga finds in the citadel area is rather amazing. In any case, the small Apsidal Temple 1 in the habitation center was dedicated to the Hinduistic Mother/Durgā cult, while a short distance from the temple Nāgas were worshipped in a more cultivated Temple. One gets the impression of a conflict between two contending religious cults. There are reasons to return to this situation in another context below.

Judging from the number of finds, votive tanks were not much in fashion anymore. The Kṣatrapa type of tank equipped with Mother Goddess figures seated along the inner walls of the mostly rectangular vessels had been copied in the Kuṣāṇa period, but then vanished very soon. The water tank, round or square, with lamps and/or birds on the rim, but without installed temple structure, as with the Mitra specimen, remains the type of votive tank found until the medieval period.

In comparison with the numerous finds of seals or seal impressions in the preceding horizons, the early Kuṣāṇa levels contain less of the typical inscribed specimens, but this could be ascribed to accidential findings, the more so if one takes into consideration the appearance of the exquisite decorated pottery in these levels. From the point of view of pottery development it is as if one suddenly enters a flower garden. Most of the vessels of different shapes and types are decorated on body, shoulder and rim by stamped, incised, applied or painted patterns. In addition to flowery or geometrical decorative designs, very often familiar symbols were depicted, especially different types of *śrivatsa, svastika, nandyāvarta, śaṅkha* as well as of rosettes and stamped hands.

The main excavation area of Sonkh yielded 101 stone sculptures and stone fragments, all but a few belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. The bulk are architectural pieces having been found in the filling debris of houses of the post-Kaniṣka levels. The reason for this is the already mentioned practice to grade the outdated previous level by filling into the empty spaces whatever could help to make the ground plane in order to reconstruct the new habitation quarters. Thus one has to distinguish between these architectural fillers hailing quite obviously from buildings situated outside the residence area, and the other group of finds, such as the small stone plaques depicting divinities apparently made for the domestic *pūja*. These were most probably in circulation from level to level, making it difficult to assign each single figure to its original place. But they are all stylistically Kuṣāṇa products, made of the mottled red sandstone used by the artists of Mathurā in early historical time.

We know already that the Mātṛkā relief found within the Apsidal Temple 1, obviously is a cult image of the temple. It is not the only Mother Goddess figure found in the main excavation field. More frequent are the relief fragments of the Warrior Goddess strangling the buffalo demon Mahiṣa by the neck. The worship of this Goddess was, as the various terracotta figures of the above described same type confirm, no doubt most popular in this community.

Besides the Warrior Goddess, worship was extended to Vāsudeva (Fig. 12.28) and Skanda. Vāsudeva is depicted as the four-armed God who stands frontal, the right natural hand raised with palm turned inwards and the back right hand placed on the thick end of the upright *gadā*. The back left hand, broken off in our specimen, was holding a *cakra*, the hand of the lower left arm shows traces of

a *śaṅkha*. He wears *ekāvalī, upavīta* and *vanamālā* and is clad in a *dhotī*, thus representing the well-known type of Vāsudeva produced in this time by the Mathurā artists.

The preserved fragments of the stone figures of Skanda show him standing and two-armed, with the right arm raised and its hand turned slightly inwards (*vyāvṛtta mudrā*), the left arm bent holding the upright shaft of a spear with his hand. Skanda wears earrings, necklace and *upavīta*. He is clad in a *dhotī*, with the fabric gathered between his legs, and a bulky scarf hanging down from the right hip to the left thigh, presumably ending in a loop below his left hip. One fragmentary and mutilated plaque shows a frontal Skanda riding a peacock. The right arm of the God is raised, its hand turns inwards, the left arm is bent, carrying a spear in the hand. In the lower part of the fragment, the outspread wings of the peacock are visible, as are traces of the damaged frontal head and body of the bird.

The importance in Sonkh of the cult of Skanda, as probably for the whole of Mathurā District, is emphasized by the find of two Kuṣāṇa bronze figures from Levels 19 and 16 respectively. Although not masterly specimens, they are the first Mathurā metal images found in stratified levels of the Kuṣāṇa period. The first is a flatly cast bronze, 9.3 cm high, depicting the standing figure of Skanda. (Fig. 12.29). The God stands frontally on a low pedestal. With his raised right hand he holds his attribute, the *śakti*, the shaft of which ends in a knob near to the right knee. Skanda's left hand is placed akimbo. He wears a diadem, rings in both(?) ears and a pearl necklace (*ekāvalī*). The garment is arranged in folds and covers both legs down to the knee; it is kept by a two-stringed girdle, not a waistband, gathered around the hips. The projection on the left hip is therefore, not a waistband knot but presumably the connecting bar to a further figure now broken away. In this case the God should be identified as the Skanda of a three-figured Ṣaṣṭhī relief. On the other hand, Skanda holds the *śakti* in his left hand which is the case only when he is accompanied by his favourite bird, the cock. Therefore, one would like to see a tiny cock on the left hand side. The back of the bronze is hollow. The second piece, also a flatly cast bronze, 10.6 cm high, shows a divine couple standing in frontal posture on a low pedestal within a frame of columns and an architrave made up of double rods (Fig. 12.30). The *toraṇa* impression of the frame is confirmed by S-shaped brackets in the triangle between pillar and

lintel on both sides, and by a central ornament consisting of a ring below and a tripartite symbol above the beam looking like the separate parts of a *nandyāvarta*. The figures, joined to each other as well as to the frame by small bars, are those of a man and a woman, the male figure being much taller than the female. The woman, dressed in a short garment, has an animal head with large round eyes and ears but a damaged spot near the mouth. As far as it is preserved, her hair is bristling around the head. Her right arm is bent upwards and the hand with its palm is turned inwards. The man raises his right arm; he holds his palm even more clearly inwards than the woman. In the left suspended hand he carries a bowl. He is dressed in a *dhotī*, the knotted end of which is visible in folds between the legs. A broad necklace runs from shoulder to shoulder. His hair appears to be piled up high (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) and is decorated with a diadem. He may have been intentionally depicted with only one earring (*ekakuṇḍala*), but it is possible also that the right ear's ornament has been broken off. While the female can be made out as a cat-faced Mother Goddess, the male figure is, for want of specific attributes, difficult to identify. Nevertheless, his appearance by the side of an animal-headed Mother Goddess connects him with great probability to Skanda. These singular bronzes were doubtless greatly esteemed cult images, indicative of the high position of the Skanda cult in the religious life of the time.

During the work on the large plateau of the hill at Sonkh, the excavators came upon a succession of seven Kuṣāṇa levels (22 to 16) with the remnants of houses, streets and places grouped around a central brickbuilt apsidal temple. This structure—we call it Temple 1—was often renovated, reconstructed and also enlarged. As it looks, the walls were just plastered but not artistically planned. It is all the more astonishing to find fragments of Kuṣāṇa stone reliefs and stone railings in the filling debris of the upper Kuṣāṇa levels, beginning with Huviṣka Level 19. The most frequent group are pieces of crossbars decorated with various types of lotus rosettes on the obverse and reverse sides. Other architectural stone fragments originate from railing pillars or a *toraṇa*, like the head of a lion or uprights from between the architraves. Another remarkable stone relief is the half of a large tympanum carved on both sides, depicting Garuḍa above a curved lotus border.

A number of fragments carry some incised Brāhmī *akṣaras*, mostly unimportant with the exception of a damaged crossbar inscribed on

one of the lenticular lateral faces, containing remains of three lines of a dedication in Brāhmī script. This is a rare place to incise an inscription because it is hidden in the lenticular socket of its railing pillar (Fig. 12.31). This peculiar piece, found in Huviṣka Level 18, tells still another story. Before it was thrown away, it had been split perhaps by an artist in order to gain space for carving an image out of it. The scratched contours show no doubt the figure of Skanda once again, but the artist was quite obviously not satisfied with the result and dropped the fragment. The hidden importance lies in the time all this happened. The inscription starts with *mahārājasya kan(iṣ)kasya* (year broken off) and is, considering its findplace and its typical formulation, doubtlessly a dedication written at the time of Kaniska I. But mind!, this piece of a railing dated to Kaniṣka's time appears in the filling debris of a house in a later Huviṣka level. Consequently, the railing to which it belonged and the temple surrounded by it, considering the bulk of the architectural fragments found in the filling debris of the houses, must have collapsed or have been destroyed already at the time of Huviṣka. As it cannot be assumed that all these fragments were brought from very far, such a temple with stone balustrade must have existed in the neighbourhood of the mound. It is no longer possible to know whether there existed more than one temple outside the residential area. But the survival of the foundation of at least one larger temple is best known to us by the report on the Kṣatrapa levels. It is the apsidal structure excavated on the island rising up in the surrounding fields at a distance of about 400 m north of the main excavation area and situated quite close to the modern canal. As described above, the exploration of this place was caused by the existence of a Kuṣāṇa sculpture depicting a Nāgarāja, worshipped as Cāmardevī by the women of the neighbouring villages, and housed in a modern small temple building erected in the center of the island. A trial excavation on the southern side of this modern building resulted, as we know, in the discovery of the foundation of an apsidal temple (see Fig. 12.11) upon which structural remains of a *second phase* of this temple was preserved (Fig. 12.32). This second phase consisted of 1) the remnants of a new enclosure wall of the temple, 2) fragments of superstructures above walls of phase 1, 3) a new row of pillar foundations, 4) remains of structures around the temple, scattered over the whole area of the island. In addition, a number of early Kuṣāṇa stone sculptures from a *toraṇa* and a *vedikā* surrounding the temple complex

came to light (see below).The construction of a new enclosure wall shows that the platform of the temple had been enlarged. The new row of pillar foundations now stands considerably closer to the cella, so that in view of the simultaneous enlargment of the platform, the temple cella could be circumambulated on the outer side of the pillars only. The excavation of the remaining area around the temple revealed a number of fragmentary structures in all directions. East of the eastern wall of the temple enclosure extends a free space nearly the size of the temple platform. To the north and south this space is bordered by 2,00 × 2.30 m thick walls. The southern wall continues directly along the temple platform and joins the structural remnants on the western side where it turns into a staircase construction. Remains of such staircases could be traced also in the north and in the south. North of the temple, fragments of a long parallel wall came to light on the northern side of which thinner walls in regular distances forming small cells of the size of 1.75 × 2.00 m are protruding.

An attempt may be made to understand the architectural context of the whole temple complex (Fig. 12.33). Rather clear is the stepped arrangement of the structures up to the temple platform. Starting from the level of the surrounding ground the stairways led up to the broad first enclosure wall, ca. 0.75 m above, to be considered as a footpath around the temple and its opposite free space to the east. From this path two more stairways on the east and west sides were leading to the once 0.80 m higher level of the temple platform. Thus one gets the impression that phase 2 of the sanctuary is a well planned construction. Apsidal temple no. 2 is the main building standing on the platform towering over the other surrounding structures. The temple itself consisted of an apsidal cella closed on three sides and roofed by a vault which was provided with a lean-to roof constructed of wood, running around the temple and covering the space between the cella wall and the enclosing row of pillars. The vault carried pinnacles of the green glazed variety. The hard, round mud base forming a complete circle within the apse most probably served as base for the main cult image. The arch-shaped entrance was furnished with a stone tympanum placed above the doorway leading into the cella. This tympanum is carved on both sides.

The nearly symmetrical area to the east of the temple platform being enclosed by thick walls offers problems which cannot be solved

satisfactorily. A number of particularities seem to indicate that a temple pond was situated here. There were found, for instance, strikingly sandy layers with an unusual concentration of pottery on the westside of the rectangle. In addition, the thick wall structures were partly plastered with mortar, the intention being perhaps to get the necessary isolation. Whatever the function of this area may have been, the symmetrical layout of the temple platform and the opposite space indicates a close correlation.

To the north of the temple was situated a monastery-like construction of rows of tiny cells arranged on three sides of a courtyard. Unfortunately this is the spot where the modern temple is placed so that the excavation had to stop here. The northeastern corner of this area, the most disturbed part of the island, did not betray any special function. Except for a pillar *in situ* and the northern entrance construction, no other structural remains are found here.

Considering the archaeological data, the island comprises, fortunately, the whole ancient temple complex. It is clear that the sacred area was rectangular in shape and was enclosed by a stone railing measuring in the days of old 43.00 × 34.00 m. Of this railing, the most remarkable pieces have been found on the southern side where, beside crossbars and pillar fragments, parts of a *toraṇa*, carved on both sides, came to light. As they were laying flat and very close to the surface of the rather salty ground, all of them were corroded on the upper side. Fortunately, the sides facing downwards survived in a remarkably good condition. The position immediately under the surface is responsible also for the loss of the majority of the architraves and all of the *toraṇa* pillars. They must have been found by chance and removed sometime ago and most probably taken for other purposes.

Erected at a distance of 4.80 m from the southern enclosure wall of the temple platform, the gate stood somewhat left of the stairway construction. It was composed of two pillars supporting a superstructure of three architraves with voluted ends. The open space between the architraves was occupied by carved screens and uprights in the middle, and by lions upon the voluted end pieces. Whether there were any decorative figures crowning the top architrave remains in the dark. Bracket figures of beautiful Śālabhañjikās were placed between pillars and voluted ends of the lower lintel. From the bottom to the upper edge of the top, the gate had a height of c. 3.45 m.

It is difficult to determine whether the stone railing was connected directly to the pillars of the gate or set apart by a joining link. In any case, there was no space left for a deeper gateway construction. The three components of the railing, namely pillar (*stambha*), crossbar (*sūcī*) and coping stone (*uṣṇīṣa*) are, as a rule, carved on both sides. The pillars are adorned with one medallion and two half-lotus rosettes on the obverse and with one complete and two half-lotus rosettes on the reverse face. The crossbars show lotus rosettes of different type on either side. The main type of coping stone is decorated with a bell and creeper design.

Before turning to the function of phase 2 of the Apsidal Temple, attention should be paid to the chronological data of this structure. Phase 2 is datable 1) by the size of the bricks used, 2) the stylistic features of the finds, and 3) two copper coins.The size of bricks used for the structure is 38 × 24 × 6 cm on average, and complies with those of the Kuṣāṇa buildings in the main excavation area. All the remains of the stone railing and the gateway, produced of mottled red sandstone, clearly show Kuṣāṇa features. Among the scanty remains of terracotta human figures, a few heads were found corresponding in style to finds of late Kṣatrapa and early Kuṣāṇa time in the main excavation area. The remaining terracotta materials show mature Kuṣāṇa features. One seal carries two lines of Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script. All this evidence points to a Kuṣāṇa origin of the upper temple construction and the adjacent architectural remains. But there is, fortunately, the additional find of two copper coins sticking together like a sandwich; they were discovered within the brick foundation of the second pillar from right in the northern row. The two coins are issues of Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka I and settle the date of the upper phase of Apsidal Temple no. 2 to the beginning of the Kaniṣka era. Except for these specimens, only four more Kuṣāṇa coins have been recovered on the island; among them is a unique issue of Huviṣka, published and discussed by P.L. Gupta, B.N. Mukherjee and R. Göbl.[2] Their discussion revolves round the question whether the legend is to be interpreted as Huviṣka, son of Kaniṣka or Kaniṣka, son of Huviṣka.

[2] Herbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh* (Berlin 1993), 462, pl. II.6, 313.

The final fate of this temple and its surroundings remain in the dark, unless one comes to the conclusion that the finds of the railing fragments in the debris of the houses of the post-Kaniṣka levels hail from this Temple. There are no structures betraying further use of the sanctuary after the Kuṣāṇa period. A handful of coins, (three Vīrasena, one Vināyakapāla I and one Bharatpur specimen), are the only references to later times buried in the sand of this small piece of land. It is not possible to know when the large, four-sided Nāga sculpture, once perhaps the cult image in the apse of the temple, had been found and set up for worship. It might have happened a long time ago. Today the the place is abandoned by people, except at the time of *pūja*, performed nowadays, every Friday.

The Function of the Apsidal Temple no. 2 in its Second Phase

While Phase 1 yielded no object helping us to identify the cult to which this older sanctuary was dedicated, the situation concerning Phase 2 is quite different. Here, many stone reliefs as well as terracotta figures were found to have a Nāga character. Outstanding are the architectural pieces of the southern gate, in particular the bottom lintel of the architrave depicting a Nāga court scene (Fig. 12.34). The relief contains no less than nineteen figures, among them four women and four children. In the center are depicted the Nāgarāja Vāsuki and, to his right, his sister Jaratkāru, each provided with a seven-headed cobrahood. Vāsuki sits on an intentionally displaced throne in a clearly tilted position, with his left leg free of the footrest and the cobrahood off center In his potbellied placidity he looks like a drunk person. In contrast, his sister Jaratkāru is depicted as if she is the commanding person in the scene. On the right side of the relief two female and three male servants are depicted, all of them marked as Nāgas by a single snakehood rising behind each head. The female servants carry the royal emblems, a chowrie and an umbrella, while the male persons remain standing with the hands in *añjali*. The last Nāga attendant in the scene is the girl standing at the proper right side of Jaratkāru; she holds a necklace, just given to her by her mistress with the order to present it to the leader of the group of persons appearing on the left side of the relief. These persons are not Nāgas; they form a delegation consisting of three Brāhmaṇas, four ascetics or disciples and four children. The scene

has been identified as depicting the story of Āstīka as narrated in the Āstīka parvan of the Mahābhārata.[3] The voluted end pieces show a Makara with a Nāga as his playmate; they are joined to the central lintel by a cubic block with two intertwined three-headed cobras. The bracket figure preserved from the western side of the *toraṇa* is carved on both sides with the figure of a Śālabhañjikā, one of which survived in perfect condition (Fig. 12.35).

Near to the gate, a pillar fragment was found carved with a Nāgarāja under a seven-headed cobrahood set in a medallion (Fig. 12.36). The hand of his uplifted right arm holds three lotus stalks; the left arm is held at the hip, presumably carrying an object no longer identifiable. The lower body of the figure turns out into a striated snake's tail. The above mentioned medallion moulds depicting a Nāgarāja recovered from the main excavation area are most probably copied from pillars of this railing. Another pillar, unearthed to the western side of the Temple, shows three cobra heads in the bottom rosette. To the northeast, the relief fragment of a Nāga who seems to be reading (Fig. 12.37) and the upper part of a Nāginī with a hood of three cobras came to light. West of the stairway in the north, the stump of a Nāga image was found still *in situ*. No less important are the three surface finds of larger Nāga sculptures found in the surrounding fields.

The Nāga context is clearly recognizable also in the terracotta material unearthed on the island. A Nāgahood, to which the hollow face and the hand holding a flask fit in size, proves that rather large terracotta Nāga figures existed as well in the temple area. Five fragments of small terracotta snakes attest to the popularity of Nāga figures in this place. An inscribed seal with the remains of three rectangular labels each carrying two lines of Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī mentioning an *ahikośika*, demonstrate a snake connotation (Fig. 12.38).

The cumulative representation of Nāgas as documented in these finds has to be complemented by two other important sculptures. One, from a private house near the temple, is a large tympanum fragment with reliefs on both sides showing a man climbing a rock. He is entwined by a snake but he is not fighting the animal which is a part of him, for he is himself a Nāga (Fig. 12.39). He might be depicted as leaving the netherworld situated below the mountains.

[3] Härtel 1993, 429–430.

Finally we have to take in account the large statue found some time ago, housed now in the small modern temple already mentioned several times. The sculpture of mottled red sandstone is carved on all four sides (Fig. 12.40). The obverse and the reverse show perfectly similar figures of a male person with the right arm raised, his hand turned inwards (*vyāvṛtta mudrā*). The bent left arm is lowered to the thigh holding a flask (?) in the hand. Behind his shoulders and head arises a seven-headed cobrahood. All the other details are worn away; the legs are broken off. On the narrow sides of the image, theriomorphic Nāgahoods arise showing the horizontally striated bodies of seven cobras; in front of them three stalks with lotus buds are visible. Three of the seven cobra heads are preserved on each of the sides; those to the right display their split tongues. The large figure no doubt represents a Nāgarāja.

Such an accumulation of Nāga sculptures and figures makes it evident that the upper structure of the Apsidal Temple no. 2 at Sonkh was dedicated to the Nāga cult. It is, therefore, not too far-fetched to assume that the four-sided Nāga sculpture had originally been standing in the apse of the Temple and was worshipped as the main image. As it measures without legs 1.43 m in height, the figure must have had the enormous size of 2.20 m or more. The Nāga tympanum fragment was most probably part of the doorway construction of the Temple.

It might be difficult to comprehend how Nāgas could be worshipped in such a sophisticated and artistic Temple as the Sonkh complex once represented. The answer is simple: natural snakes as in the *Nāga pañcamī* ceremonies were not the object of worship, but an imaginary snakegod, a personified Nāgarāja, here in all probability Vāsuki, a member of the Hindu pantheon, was adored.

The Nāga Apsidal Temple attests to the importance of a sophisticated Nāga cult in Mathurā and other parts of northern India. For a long time we had to ask ourselves if there was any hope to prove the existence of such a Nāga cult in special places of worship. A.K.Coomaraswamy[4] tried to demonstrate a similar cult with regard to the Yakṣas. He was of the opinion that "the existence of images in every case implies the existence of temples and cult". Since the situation of the Nāgas is, in many respects, similar to that of the

[4] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa* (Washington 1928), vol. I, 17–24.

Yakṣas, it may be asked what evidence we have got, prior to Sonkh, to show the existence of places or buildings for a Nāga cult. The starting point is the same as with the Yakṣas: There are images representing Nāgas in different shape and contexts betraying a sort of hierarchy recognizable by the number of cobras in the hood: one cobra = subordinate, three cobras = prince or princess, five cobras = Nāga queen, seven cobras = Nāgarāja (in case of Vāsuki also his sister Jaratkāru). The center of artistic production was no doubt Mathurā where quite a number of Nāga statues had been created during the first centuries A.D., the oldest belonging to the 1st century B.C. The mostly large figures must have been objects of worship, as was the four-sided image at Sonkh. The place where such a Nāga figure was installed could have been under a tree, at a water tank, in the open, stuck in the ground, or in a building erected for the image. Unfortunately, no Nāga temple is known from Mathurā prior to Sonkh, but there are a number of inscriptions containing scraps of valuable information on Nāga worship. At least four of them record the donation of lotus tanks and gardens for the Nāgas and a Nāga image that was set up at such a tank. In one case the tank and garden are donated "for the holy Nāga Bhumo", giving us the name of the Nāgarāja in worship. The affair becomes still more interesting if we take into account two more inscriptions said to come from the Jamalpur mound in Mathurā City. There is the inscription on a figureless stone slab, now in the Lucknow Museum (E 5). It contains eight lines of script mentioning names of donors from Mathurā who are said to have set up a stone slab at the *sthāna* of the holy Lord of Nāgas, Daḍhikarṇṇa by name[5] By "stone slab" the inscription might mean a Nāga image again, but there are two points that are of greater interest here. First, the name of the local Nāgarāja is mentioned, and secondly, it is said that the stone slab was set up at the *sthāna* of this Dadhikarṇṇa. What is *sthāna* in this context? In general the word can mean any place, spot, locality, abode, dwelling or house.In other words, one cannot prove from the inscription alone, whether *sthāna* stands for an open place or a building. But here the second inscription from the Jamalpur mound is helpful. It contains one single line, written on a pillar base, now in

[5] Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Unpublished Papers, edited by Klaus L. Janert (Göttingen 1961), § 27.

the Indian Museum Calcutta (M 2) recording that the pillar is the gift of Devila, the *dadhikarṇṇadevakulika*.[6] Now, *devakula* means without doubt "deity house", that is, a temple. And a *devakulika* is the attendant, the priest at the temple, here the temple of the Nāgarāja Dadhikarṇṇa in Mathurā.

There is reason to believe that two regions in northern India were, in the early historical period, more prominent areas of Nāga worship than the others, namely the District of Mathurā as documented just now, and the heart of Bihar State around Rājagṛha. While Mathurā provides us with a large number of Nāga images and the expressive inscriptional records, the Bihar center was, up to now, the only place where at least fragments of structural remains of a Nāga temple could be unearthed. Excavations in the environs of the famous circular brick structure, popularly known as Maniyar Math, revealed that this structure rested upon at least two earlier strata of buildings, the oldest of which belongs, according to its bricks' size 42 × 30 × 6.5 cm to the second/first century B.C.[7] Although it is not possible to get an idea of the groundplan of the structures, the place provides us with finds of relevant interest. The most important, of course, is a stone relief carved on both sides found in the remains of the lower structure near Maniyar Math.[8] It shows, in the lower panel of its reverse, eight Nāga figures, standing side by side, and above it, behind a stone railing, an architectural structure with the remains of two niches. In the left niche, a sitting Nāginī is depicted who obviously was not the only figure in the niche. The other niche contains the canopy of another Nāga. On the top of the niches one more panel of standing figures had its place, with an inscription on its base, declaring *homage to Maṇi-Nāga*, a famous Nāga figure of ancient Rājagṛha. The obverse of the sculpture shows the remains of two standing Nāgas and a small accompanying figure. This relief is of spotted red sandstone and undoubtedly a work of a Mathurā artist. The inscription and the style suggest a date of the

[6] Lüders 1961, § 34.

[7] J.C. Chandra, "Excavations at Rajgir", Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India [ASIAR] 1935–36, 53; B.C. Law, "Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature", Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India 58 (1938), three leaves, 49 pages, 2 plates.

[8] M. Nazim, "Excavation at Rajgir", *ASIAR* 1936–37, 45–47, XIIIa,b; H.K. Prasad, "The Naga Cult in Bihar", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (1960), 132.

second century A.D. The relief represents the earliest depiction of a Nāga temple and shows it as a structure enclosed by a railing. Here the circle closes. There is no reason anymore to doubt the existence of prominent buildings for the worship of Nāgarājas as Nāgadevas in early historical times. The Apsidal Temple no. 2 at Sonkh is, in its upper phase, the best preserved archaeological evidence for this. The architectural design of this Temple and the outstanding quality of the sculptures connected with it, force us to reconsider our customary ideas of the Nāga cult as a mere folk cult occurring only in primitive surroundings.

Conclusion

The excavation of the early historical levels in the mound at Sonkh results in a number of interesting new pieces of information which most probably can be taken as representative for Mathurā State/District on the whole. The paper started with a short reference to the levels 32 to 30, covering the Śuṅga Cultural Phase. However, there is reasonable doubt whether the Śuṅgas ever ruled over the State of Mathurā. But the expression Śuṅga Cultural Phase also implies that the material found in Levels 32 to 30, especially terracotta figurines, is different, with regard to shape and style, from the finds in the preceding and following levels and that this material represents what is usually classified as Śuṅga. Most important are the finds of coins, found along with the terracotta objects, consisting of uninscribed die-struck specimens, showing a lion before *indradhvaja* symbol, and punch-marked copper and silver coins still being the currency with the largest circulation. Among them is a hoard of 42 copper punch-marked coins (more rare than silver specimens), published by P.L. Gupta.[9] Comparing these stratified Sonkh specimens with those found in other sites of northern India, e.g. Ayodhya, Kauśāmbī and Ahichchatra, Gupta comes to the conclusion that "the different series of the copper punch-marked coins, issued in different localities, mean by themselves that they were not issued by any *one* authority. As such all the series of the copper punch-marked coins cannot be attributed

[9] Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, "Copper Punch-Marked Coins from Sonkh", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXVII (1975), 1–12.

to the Śuṅgas. This makes it amply clear that the Śuṅgas did not inherit the Mauryan empire in its entirety; various small principalities had cropped up in the various parts of the Mauryan empire along with the coup d'etat of Pushyamitra or soon after it. Another important consequence of the Sonkh find is that we will have to revise our views about the dates of the *local rulers* who are known from the inscribed coins bearing their names. They cannot now be placed in any period earlier than the late second century B.C."[10]

This well-founded consideration supported by the results of the Sonkh excavation proves a span of at least two hundred years of non-Śuṅga rule in Mathurā and most of the other north-Indian states before the appearance of the Kuṣāṇas. It is, therefore, incomprehensible why historians are still using the formula MAURYA/ŚUṄGA/KUṢĀṆA as the historical sequence in the centuries before and after the turn of the era. As to Mathurā, the objects of art in stone or terracotta of the end of the second/first century B.C. are undoubtedly products of the Mitra period, and the style of the succeeding Kṣatrapa works of art is likewise distinguishable. A more precise historical and geographical assignment of the art materials is overdue.

For the State of Mathurā, the finds of Sonkh put the date of the Mitra dynasty, beginning with Gomitra, at the end of the second century B.C. to the end of the third quarter of the first century B.C. The majority of the historians agree on dating the beginning of the Local States of Northern India to the second or latter half of the second century B.C., taking for granted the disintegration of the Śuṅga empire soon after Puṣyamitra. The result of the Sonkh excavation is ample proof for the correctness of the hitherto deduced dating. The sequence of the Mathurā Mitra rulers is finally fixed with Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra, Viṣṇumitra. It is questionable as to whether Dṛḍhamitra, not found in Sonkh but placed between Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra by different authors, is rightly located there. It must be doubted for two reasons. First, the Viṣṇumitra of the Patna inscription, originally of Mathurā, is to be recognized as the son of Brahmamitra, and secondly, the weight and size of the Dṛḍhamitra coin as given by J. Allan[11] do not fit into the series of the high quality coins of the Mathurā Mitras. If at all, Dṛḍhamitra could be placed as the last of the Mitra rulers.

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10 Gupta 1975, 10.

11 John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (Reprint Oxford 1967), 174.

With the Mitras, a remarkable change in the building methods took place. Under Sūryamitra the houses and other structures are for the first time built of baked bricks. The solidity and comfort of the buildings as well as the richness of finds give the impression of great prosperity. The terracotta art of this period is of great variety in make, style and iconography. As far as the finds allow us to say, the people followed a folk religion worshipping mainly Yakṣas, Yakṣinīs, Nāgas and Nāginīs. Conspicuous is the unusually large number of votive tanks for performing domestic *pūja*. There is sufficient reason to assume that the main group of water tanks served nāga worship. The foundations of the lowest phase of the apsidal temple discovered to the north of the main excavation area, undoubtedly belonging to the time of Sūryamitra, could not be assigned to a special cult.

The Kṣatrapa levels 24 and 23 in the mound of Sonkh represent a culture which is a mixture of indigenous (Indian) and foreign (Śaka) elements, documented by the appearance of Rāja Rāmadatta coins along with those of the Kṣatrapa rulers. The excavated cultural objects show a clear dual track. For instance, there are two pottery guide wares, two terracotta styles side by side, bilingual seal in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī. It seems as if the Kṣatrapas controlled the obviously long lasting rule of Rāmadatta without depriving him of his rights. As no other Datta coins were found in Sonkh it might be permitted to express doubt if the Dattas were reigning successively at all. Coins of the Dattas have been found in so farspread a territory that Mathurā State formed a part of the Datta governed area only.

Regarding the terracotta figurines, the Kṣatrapas introduced a number of new types and a special style most convincingly documented in the features and the shape of the head of the figures. Noteworthy among all the new elements are the punctured eyes giving a piercing look, an element taken over by the Kuṣāṇa artists.

From the religious point of view, the appearance of distinct types of Mother Goddess figures, betraying the preservation of the presumably traditional terracotta figures of the divinity, is most impressive. They are different from all other Indian Mother Goddess figures known up to this period. Of particular significance, in this connection, is the find of a votive tank with seven or eight seated Mother Goddess figures each carrying a child in the left arm. It is the earliest representation known so far of a *sapta* or *aṣṭamātṛkā* group. Remarkable are also two terracotta plaques, depicting most probably the Warrior

Goddess, battling the buffalo demon by strangling his neck. If the interpretation is accepted, these two plaques would be the earliest representations of this Goddess. The cult of the Mother Goddess (with child) and the beginning of the worship of a Warrior Goddess seem to have been the main cults in the Kṣatrapa period at Sonkh.

The transition from Level 23 to 22 marks the change from the Kṣatrapa to the Kuṣāṇa period. Altogether seven levels, (Level 22 to 16), could be assigned to the Kuṣāṇas. Dated by coins and finds, Levels 22 to 20 belong to the time of Kaniṣka I, 19 to 17 to Huviṣka and 16 to Vāsudeva I. The classification of the individual levels is facilitated not only by the finds but also by the remarkable circumstance that most of them were built according to a fixed plan, namely that they were rebuilt after the older horizons were filled up by every sort of debris and then leveled. Only one particular building remained in one and the same place, the structure of a small, simple sanctuary, marked as Apsidal Temple 1. The finds of a Mother Goddess relief in the apse plus a number of Kuṣāṇa terracotta plaques, depicting the Warrior Goddess battling the buffalo demon within and around the temple building, seem to indicate that this sanctuary was devoted to these deities. This conclusion is supported by other terracotta and stone figures of the Warrior Goddess found in the houses. Besides this Goddess, the art objects found in the early levels bespeak of the popularity also of Kubera, Vāsudeva and Skanda, the latter being represented by two small Kuṣāṇa bronzes, the first known stratified bronze images from Mathurā so far. Figures of Śiva are totally absent.

The religious situation in the settlement area of the citadel region becomes clarified by the result of the surprising discovery of the second phase of the Apsidal Temple 2, situated 400 m north of the main excavation field. This is a larger structure than Apsidal Temple 1. It towers over a temple complex enclosed by a stone railing and the *toraṇa*. The finds of sculptures and terracotta figures prove beyond doubt that this Temple was dedicated to a sophisticated Nāga cult with Nāgarāja Vāsuki as the deity worshipped. The Temple is not only the earliest apsidal structure but also the first Nāga sanctuary of the historical period found in the Mathurā District. Astonishingly, this Temple did not exist for long. Erected during the time of Kaniṣka I it was either destroyed, or, less probably, collapsed already in the latter half of Huviṣka's reign.

Illustrations

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MONUMENTAL NĀGINĪS FROM MATHURĀ

Doris Meth Srinivasan

A Unique Set

This paper analyses a set of life-size Snakes Goddesses (Nāginīs) dating to the first century A.D. They were probably made in Mathurā and shipped, for worship, to Nandan, U.P. These Nāginīs open a new subject category in early Indian art because they are: 1) a life-size 2) group of 3) goddesses not originating from the sphere of Hinduism, Buddhism or Jainism, and 4) dating to the 1st century A.D. These four characteristics, taken together, have so far not been associated with other early imagery. As such, there is no precedent on which to base the analysis. However, the likelihood that such a set could occur can be anticipated. For example, the slightly later Mathurā life-size Nāginī in the Cleveland Museum of Art (No. 68.104), which may be coupled with a Nāgarāja in The Brooklyn Museum of Art (No. 67.202), raises the possibility that, as elsewhere, there could have been earlier attempts in Mathurā.[1] Also, as will be shown below, archaeological, iconographic and textual indicators suggest the worship of Nāginīs within the Nāga Cult so prevalent in antiquity. Therefore, even though the Nāginī set described in this paper is presently anomalous, it is not a cultural impossibility for its time. However, before providing evidence in support of that contention, the onus of any anomaly is proof of authenticity; it is with this issue that we should start.

[1] For illustrations of both sculptures, see S.J. Czuma and R. Morris, *Kushan Sculptures: Images from Early India*, (Cleveland, 1985); Plates 25 & 26. The authors propose that the two sculptures form a Nāga couple, which may be the case. See Endnote 42, for an earlier Nāga couple.

Authenticity

This sections opens with a detailed descriptions of the Nāginīs' physical properties, including their place of discovery and point of dispersal, all of which relate to the question of authenticity, to be addressed in the second part of this section.

Description

Today the Nāginīs stand apart, one in New Delhi (Fig. 13.1), one in Tokyo (Fig. 13.2), and one in Kansas City (Fig. 13.3). But in Pre-Kuṣāṇa times, they should have formed a unit at Nandan, circa 100–110 kilometers from Mathurā, where I believe they were made.

Discovery of the New Delhi Nāginī, now in the National Museum, New Delhi was announced in "A note on A Red Sandstone Nāgini from Nadan, District Agra (Uttar Pradesh)."[2] The figure, sculpted in the round, came into the Museum in two fragments the combined height of which the Museum recorded as 5'2" (1 m. 58 cm).[3] The split occurs at the Nāginī's waist. The part from the waist up measures 71 cms.; the part below the waist measures 99 cms. The figure faces straight foreward with a slight bend in the right leg. The right arm is missing and the left, also subject to the split (see Figs. 13.1 & 13.4), is now repaired and held akimbo. Although the New Delhi Nāginī suffered considerable damage, her salient identifying feature remains. The snakehood can clearly be seen from the back where the thinly incised lines indicate that the serpent hood is comprised of nine or more heads (Fig. 13.5). The center part of this hood is treated like tresses that are ornamented with a double-strand gar-

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[2] N.R. Banerjee wrote the note in *National Museum Bulletin* Nos. 4, 5 and 6 (1983), 71; Fig. 64. See also Late Dr. Shashi Prabha Asthana, *Mathurā Kalā* (A Catalogue of Mathura Sculptures in the National Museum), National Museum, (New Delhi, 1999), 55–56. An earlier, less informative mention of the sculpture is by B.N. Sharma, "A Nāginī Image from Nadan," *Oriental Art*, N.S. XXV (1979), 248–250. My thanks to Dr. R.D. Choudhury, Director, National Museum, for providing facilities to study the National Museum Nāginī.

[3] This height is independently verified by John Twilley, Art Conservation Scientist, who accompanied me in 2000 to the National Museum to prepare for the exhibition of the Nāginī that year in Kansas City. Twilley noted: 4'10" is the surviving height from top of the head to top of the deteriorating wood base below; estimated length of statue inside base = 2 1/2"–3 1/2". Estimated total surviving height is 5'1 1/2" +/– 1".

land held together by a broad ribbon at each of the four sides. The interior of the garland has netting indicated by cross-hatching. Draped over the female's flat back and buttocks is a long scarf, going over the left shoulder and then cascading downward through the crook in the left arm (Fig. 13.4). In front, the scarf moves diagonally upward, held at the hip by the (chipped) left hand; it then wraps around the wrist. The Nāginī wears a thin lower garment held up by a beaded girdle composed of four strands. The garment is gathered in frontal folds that descend to the knees. The Nāginī's ornaments are limited to a flat torque; the beginnings of a longer, thinner, outer necklace can be seen by the strand to the right, above the breast. Heavy earrings, now broken off, would have hung from distended lobes.

Both the slightly mottled red sandstone and the physical appearance of the Nāginī conform well to the female type fashioned in the early Mathurā school of art. She should have had large breasts, a thick waist, a rounded belly, wide hips and firm, ample thighs. The loss of the breasts and belly are not due to vandalism, as opined by the Museum.[4] Rather, the sculptured surface of the stone detached itself along the weak strata in the bedding planes of the sandstone. Her face is rather full and fleshy; the eyes, with the little groove at the outer corners, protrude, and her lower lip is thick.

The general appearance of the Tokyo Nāginī in the Katolec Corporation Collection, and the Nāginī in The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, is similar to the Nāginī in the National Museum, New Delhi.

The Kansas City (KC) Nāginī, also of slightly spotted sandstone, achieves a height of 62 3/4" (Fig. 13.3). Her feet have been broken off around the ankles, further down, therefore, than the break of the New Delhi (ND) Nāginī. The KC Nāginī is also carved in the round, but she has no bends in the body; therefore, her weight is equally distributed on both straight legs. From the front, vestiges of the snakehood remain. Attributes of feminine beauty associated with Mathurā art are like those exhibited by the ND Nāginī. The KC Nāginī also wears a long scarf draped much the same way as the other Nāginī. The right arm is broken off just below the shoulder. The back of the KC Nāginī echoes the flat, finished treatment

[4] Asthana 1999, 56.

of the ND sculpture (Fig. 13.6). This view also reveals a hood composed of possibly nine serpent heads, counting, again, the lines demarcating the separate serpent heads (Fig. 13.7). The back shows how the artist rendered the transformation from human legs to snake coils. Nāgas, some believed, are creatures that appear as humans and only reveal their true serpent nature under special circumstances.[5] The sculptor of the KC Nāginī separated the two human legs by a thin wedge that thickens, progressively, to become coils wrapping around the lower legs. The KC Nāginī sustained a split similar to that of the ND Nāginī, and the former has been repaired in the West.

Indeed, all the Nāginīs were split at the waist. The upper and lower sections of the Tokyo Nāginī were joined in Europe; today, this Nāginī stands 65 3/8" tall.[6] As with the KC Nāginī, the ankles and feet of the Tokyo Nāginī are broken off and missing. The Tokyo Nāginī's stone, posture, and dress resemble that of the KC Nāginī. But her face, though recognizably sculpted in the Mathurā style, is somewhat slimmer and more off center than the other two. She resembles the other Nāginīs by her snakehood (Fig. 13.8),[7] and also by a wedge in the back that originally represented snake coils (Fig. 13.9).

Design of jewelry and apparel further unite the three Nāginīs. All have nearly identical long ears with perforated lobes from which hang heavy earrings. Close to the neck, the KC Nāginī wears a flat torque with a central square containing a flower with open petals. A longer necklace lies between the breasts. She also displays an armlet and bangles on the left arm together with anklets on both lower legs. But for the absence of the armlets, the Tokyo Nāginī wears nearly the same jewelry as the KC Nāginī. Breakage of the ND Nāginī's lower legs precludes verification of the original presence of anklets. She wears no armlets, but her two necklaces appear to be quite similar to those of the Tokyo and KC Nāginīs. All three females

[5] The story in *Mahāvagga* I.63, to which Professor O.v. Hinüber drew my attention, implies that Nāgas look like humans except in certain situations. Also in the Vedic snake sacrifice (*sarpasattra*), kings and princes of the snakes in human form officiated as priests (according to *Baudh. ŚS* 17, 18); cf. *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* 25.15 and fn. 1, p. 641 in W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Delhi, 1931.

[6] As measured in Tokyo by Twilley in 2000; 65 3/4" as measured in KC.

[7] Twilley and I could determine by counting the incised lines, that the hood probably had nine heads, but certainly more than seven. Patterned hairnets occasionally can be noticed on Mathurā females. See Mathura Museum No. 36.2665, a Nāginī of the Gupta Period.

are clothed in the same sort of diaphanous lower skirt held below the deep navel by a cloth ribbon tied in the same manner in the KC and Tokyo Nāginīs – the two having this section still intact.[8] Beneath the ribbon, each Nāginī wears a wide beaded girdle having a circular floral clasp in the middle (i.e., the Tokyo and KC examples). However, the Nāginīs are by no means identical. The breasts of the Tokyo Nāginī are somewhat smaller and higher, and her waist is thinner. The girdle of the KC Nāginī contains two more strands of beads than the others. The drapery, though rendered in similar fashion, does not relate similarly to the body in each case. The KC Nāginī has softly folded drapery, tied together and falling down on the lower left side; it is reminiscent of the tactile pliancy of wraps and scarves of the two doorkeepers made in Mathurā District during the Kṣatrapa Period (c. 1st century A.D.).[9]

The unusual breakage sustained by all three sculptures is explained by the National Museum in connection with the acquisition of their Nāginī.

> This sculpture is reported to have been discovered in the village Nadan, Ferozabad, Agra. It was captured by the Police and brought to the National Museum for safe custody.[10] . . . The sculpture seems to have been fairly intact before and, in any case, not broken into two fragments as at present. It seems to have been deliberately split at the waist along a grooved line indented for that purpose. The sculpture broke into two fragments as a result of the blows delivered along the grooved line but some part of the groove remained unaffected which indicates the *modus operandi* of the vandals. The fresh scars and planes of cleavage are ample proof of this phenomenon. The feet and the pedestal were broken earlier and are missing. The purpose of this dastardly act attempted was no doubt to simplify the problem of transporting such a heavy figure over human shoulders over a track that no vehicle can negotiate.[11]

These two accounts, published by the Museum, clearly establish the background for the advent of the Nāginī into the National Museum.

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[8] Both these figures even share the same sort of casually incised arrows on the cloth espied above the girdle, best seen in the back.

[9] See Doris Meth Srinivasan, with Lore Sander, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathurā Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period", *Archives of Asian Art* XLIII (1990), Figs. 1A & 3A.

[10] Asthana 1999, 56.

[11] Banerjee 1983, 71.

Evidently, she was found by vandals in the village of Na[n]dan, at a place inaccessible to any sort of vehicle. In an effort to get the heavy, life-size stone sculpture out of that village, the vandals cut her in two. However, the police captured the booty and deposited it in the National Museum.

It seems that the police did not capture all the booty. Several eyewitnesses have reported to me that both the KC and Tokyo Nāginīs arrived in the West, split at the waist and across the left arm, that is, damaged just like the ND Nāginī was, when first captured.[12] The late Dr. René Russek, a well-known collector of Indian sculpture, told me that sometime in the 70s he, Willi Wolff, the dealer, and Mr. Willy Frei, a friend and also a collector, saw the two upper portions of the two Nāginīs in the Zürich Free Zone.[13] He said this may have been around 1976 and that both pieces were not cleaned at the time. I recently talked with the only surviving member of this group, Mr. Willy Frei, who did remember seeing the upper portion of the KC Nāginī around 1975.[14] The split of the Tokyo Nāginī can be verified further by the Rossis, the art dealers who offered the Tokyo Nāginī to the Japanese collector.[15] According to René Russek, it was not until one to two years later that the lower parts of the two sculptures arrived. Dr. Russek observed that whereas it is not unusual for a genuine piece to be broken and shipped in parts staggered a year or two apart, it is unheard of for a fake. In his experience, all fakes come out in one transport.

More than two decades after the vandalism, in November 2000, the three Nāginīs stood reunited and on display in an exhibition at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. By this time, they had all been repaired. Repairs had been made in India and Europe, quite probably using different techniques to join and retouch surfaces. The varying conditions of repair and restoration must be kept in mind when comparisons of heights are made. Even so, the current height

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[12] This is, of course, the stone's thinnest cross section, where it is easiest to cut and snap, thereby facilitating transport.

[13] This information comes from notes I took of a conversation I had with René Russek in February 1996.

[14] My discussion with Mr. Frei took place in Zürich in 2002. I wish to thank Mr. Frei for sharing his knowledge of the situation with me.

[15] My thanks to the Rossis and to Mr. T. Kaku, Taiyo Ltd. for assistance in gathering this information.

measurements of the three Nāginīs, taken while they were exhibited in Kansas City, are not very far apart:

ND Nāginī: 62 1/4"
Tokyo Nāginī: 65 3/4"
KC Nāginī: 62 3/4"

In sum, the *Description* section has presented three sculptures sharing many physical properties, including a man-made breakage inflicted around the mid-70s. The National Museum accounts implicate vandals probably involved in the art market. The National Museum accounts leave no doubt but that the Nāginī in safekeeping with that Museum is genuine. It now remains to establish the genuiness of the other two.

Documentary, scientific and site data

As Dr. Russek indicated, the upper part of the Tokyo Nāginī arrived in the West before being cleaned. The lower part apparently also arrived uncleaned, since I have the photograph of the entire statue taken prior to cleaning (Fig. 13.10). The photograph was taken in or before October 1980 since the Italian writing on the back has been translated for me: "On the month of October 1980, I have removed the calcareous incrustatins [sic] (scales) of the sculpture at the residence of Mr. Rossi in Passerano." (Signed) Pia Sarzina Sciacca.[16] The color photograph shows the joined upper and lower parts of the female sculpture. As such, this photograph is the important predecessor of Fig. 13.2, the Tokyo Nāginī after cleaning. Indeed, in a document dated 27/08/2001, and written in Turin, Ms. Sciacca, whose letterhead states 'expert in conservation of works of art', reiterates that she and an assistant removed "completely the calcareous incrustations (scales) which had deposited on the sculpture depicted in the enclosed photograph." She goes on the describe the way the cleaning was performed, and that the job took twenty-one working days.

Thus, partial evidence for the probable authenticity of the Tokyo Nāginī includes:

[16] The photograph and translation were passed on to me by Mr. T. Kaku, via the Rossis. Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

a) the photo of this piece prior to cleaning;
b) the first-hand observations of René Russek regarding this sculpture and his general remark regarding staggered shipments;
c) the declaration of Ms. Sciacca, who cleaned the sculpture.

Additional evidence will be cited below under Scaled Photography.

The KC Nāginī was subjected to a number of scientific tests carried out by John Twilley in 1998 at the request of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Mr. Twilley examined the sculpture and submitted to me on June 27, 1998, a report entitled "Scientific and Technical Investigations of a Kushan Nagini in Spotted Red Sandstone."[17] His work involved examination of the piece, including observations made using directional lighting and ultraviolet fluorescent light, and microscopic examination. Samples of surface accretions were removed from the Nāginī for analysis by x-ray diffraction and Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy in order to determine their composition, and thin section petrography was used to verify their microstructure.[18] According to Twilley, "No evidence was found for the use of modern tools, for the imposition of false weathering features or the application of manmade materials intended to simulate burial deposits."[19] In addition, Twilley, who is familiar with Kuṣāṇa and classical sculpture, writes, "A very important observation is that the sides of the torso both retain a faint ridge which is a remnant left from the sculpting of the stone at the stage where the open spaces under the arms were being created. This can be observed on a number of sculptures from the classical world of Greece and Rome and results from the intersection of curving lines from front and rear when they meet beneath a limb which precludes thorough finishing of the surface."[20] The resulting ridge can be found on the right side of the torso and implies that the right arm was in place when that part of the torso was carved. "By far the most prominent example of this feature is present in the gap between the left leg and the outer fall of the drapery."[21]

[17] At the time, I was Curator of South and Southeast Asian Art at The Nelson and this sculpture was in my charge.
[18] Twilley 1998 (unpublished report), 8.
[19] Twilley 1998, 1.
[20] Twilley 1998, 7.
[21] Twilley 1998, 7.

The report emphasizes the importance of both the scientific and art historical methods to establish authenticity. From the scientific perspective, Twilley could not find any compelling evidence that would preclude an ancient date for the KC Nāginī. As such, the scientific tests performed on this Nāginī favored assessing the sculpture as both authentic and ancient.

This assessment supports the implication resulting from the fact, mentioned above, that part of the KC Nāginī landed in the West in c. 1975.

The remembrances of the older villagers at Nandan tend to support the likely authenticity of both the Tokyo and KC sculptures. Twilley and I were told that the older villagers remember the presence of the sculptures at Nandan. Since their recollection is not a foolproof endorsement, the background for this testimony needs to be relayed.

Twilley and I, accompanied by a junior officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, made a site visit to Nandan in February 2000. It took most of the day to get from Agra to Nandan, and, once there, to make the villagers comfortable with our presence and questions. Our questions, in English, were translated into Hindi by the ASI officer, who then translated and transmitted their responses back to us. Close to sunset, we were led to a large disturbed area close to the Jumna River, but at considerable walking distance from the habitational grounds. The area, perhaps an acre in size, was bound on one side by a sandy slope suggesting that an excavation may have occurred there in the past. A huge depression existing near the slope may be connected to the 'excavation' work. It was in this area that some villagers said they saw the Nāginīs before they were taken away. The difficulty with this information is that: 1) some data could have been lost in the translation process; 2) possibly the responses were conditioned by what the villagers opined we, the visitors, came to hear; 3) the ASI officer could have misunderstood the specificity of the question I relayed to him, causing the villagers to have provided answers relating to a part of the disturbed area (i.e., the excavation/depression/tank), rather than to the sculptures.

One fact stands. Two Nāginī pieces can unequivocally be considered authentic and assigned to Nandan. The first is, of course, the sculpture in the National Museum. The second is, presumably, still in Nandan. It was shown to Twilley and myself in February 2000. After we left the disturbed area and walked, for about twenty-five minutes,

back to the inhabited part of the village, the villagers showed us a large sandstone fragment of a Nāginī's feet resting on a base supported by a tang (Fig. 13.11). Identification is assured because the back of the stone retains the bottom part of twisted snake coils (Fig. 13.12). The actual feet and ankles are slender and therefore female (Fig. 13.13). The fragment, lying in a muddy path, was not used in worship but apparently was a curiosity in the village. I was given no explanation as to how it got there, or from which part of Nandan it might have come.

Does the fragment belong to one of the three known Nāginīs, or to a fourth? Evidence suggests it belongs to a fourth. Measurements of the dimensions of the top of the fragment show that the feet could belong to a Nāginī from this set but not necessarily from one of the three. The fragment's top length, end to end, measures 20". The bottom breakage point of the KC Nāginī measures 20 3/4". The widest surviving width at the bottom of the Tokyo Nāginī, which is not quite at the same place as the KC Nāginī's breakage point, is 17 3/4". The bottom breakage point of the ND Nāginī is closer to the knees, so a comparison of its measurements to that of the Nandan fragment is irrelevant. Since the measurements of the Nandan fragment could align with either the Tokyo or KC Nāginī, it cannot be ruled out that the feet could belong to one of the two.

However, iconographic comparisons eliminate this possibility. The Nandan feet have anklets on both feet, though only worn circles now remain (Figs. 13.11 & 13.13). The circles originally could have formed one or two heavy anklets around each foot.[22] The Tokyo Nāginī retains the remains of two heavy anklets around the left ankle (Fig. 13.2). The KC Nāginī has traces of double heavy anklets also on the left foot (Fig. 13.3). Therefore, the Nandan feet are unlikely to belong to either of these statues since the norm seems to be two heavy anklets per ankle. Again, nothing can be ventured regarding the ND Nāginī broken closer to the knees. True, a chunk of sandstone could have broken off below the knees and above the ankles of the ND Nāginī. But neither Twilley nor I saw any other chunk

[22] Note that what is now seen as one worn form may have originally been differentiated by distinctly, modeled surfaces. Today's worn circle was probably differentiated into drapery and anklet forms. It must be remembered that the Nandan fragment has been lying in the village for a very long time with children and animals milling around it, and without any one particularly concerned about its preservation.

of stone in the entire Nandan region we traversed. To quote Twilley's site observations,

> . . . there is no evidence that any rock exists in the area. The sculpture base was literally the only piece of rock in the entire area. None appeared in the village buildings. If rock existed in the area, it should have been exposed by erosion in the river valleys, which we didn't see. However, all the sand that we saw being hauled out of the river was grey, not red, so we can be pretty sure that red sandstone isn't exposed in the river valley below the site. . . .[23]

As such, no meaningful connection can be made, at this time, between the Nandan fragment and the ND Nāginī.

I propose that the snake feet found at Nandan belong to a fouth Nāginī in the set comprising the ND, the KC, and the Tokyo Nāginī, for the following reasons:

a) The Nandan fragment cannot belong to the KC Nāginī because the anklets don't match.
b) The Nandan fragment cannot belong to the Tokyo Nāginī for the same reason, in addition to the fact that the Nandan fragment preserves the form of the central fold between the feet (Fig. 13.14), whereas the central folds terminate between the ankles of the Tokyo Nāginī.
c) It is likely, for reasons given above, that the Nandan feet do not belong to the ND Nāginī. Note also, that the feet of the fragment are poised in a way that could accommodate straight or bent legs, and that the ND Nāginī's right leg shows a slight bend.

Scaled photography

To determine the degree of similarity or difference between the proportions of the three Nāginīs, two procedures were undertaken. First, a comparison was made of the measurements of seven facial features taken from close-up photographs of each Nāginī shot under similar conditions. Second, and based on the first procedure, three separate, complete frontal photographs (one of each the Nāginī) taken

[23] E-mail I received from Twilley on Nov. 16, 2000, on the subject of Nanden [*sic*] Notes.

under similar conditions were scanned into a computer and the resultant composite image was scaled.[24] The results from these two procedures reveal surprising correlations in proportions, as will be demonstrated next. But first, it should be noted that the accuracy of both results rests on the fact that all three sculptures came together for the exhibition at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.[25] During the time the Nāginīs were in Kansas City, they were under the scrutiny of the Museum's Photography and Conservation Departments.[26]

1. *Photos and measurements of the Nāginīs' face*

Dale Benson in the Museum's Conservation Department took very accurate measurements of the Nāginīs' faces. Jamison Miller, the Museum's chief photographer, took full-length slides of each Nāginī using the same lighting, distance, film, camera, lens, and camera height for each statue. The three full-length slides were enlarged so that each image could accommodate Benson's measurements of each face. The photographer then "plugged Paul Benson's face measurements into a computer and made fresh printouts of each Nāginī. These accurate measurements did not change the size of the printouts much at all . . . .[27]" The prints, reproduced here in reduced format (Figs. 13.15, 13.16, 13.17), will now be compared and analyzed.

a) Measurement from top of the head at the hairline to bottom of the chin

ND Nāginī	10 1/2"
KC Nāginī	10"
Tokyo Nāginī	10"

b) Measurement from beginning of the hairline (i.e., top of the forehead) to bottom of the chin

ND Nāginī	7"
KC Nāginī	7"
Tokyo Nāginī	6 3/4"

[24] For this phase of the work, I wish to thank Professor Robert Lewis, Art Department at the University of Memphis, and also Ms. Mary Sorrentino, graphic designer.

[25] I wish to acknowledge the assistance I received from this Museum in supporting the exhibition of these sculptures.

[26] I am thankful for the efforts of Ms. Elisabeth Batchelor, Head of Conservation, and Paul Benson in the same department.

[27] E-mail, dated February 15, 2001, from Jamison Miller to me.

c) Measurement of jaw width

ND Nāginī	6"
KC Nāginī	5 1/2"
Tokyo Nāginī	5"

d) Measurement of cranial width

ND Nāginī	8 1/4"
KC Nāginī	7 1/4"
Tokyo Nāginī	6 3/4"

e) Measurement of mouth width

ND Nāginī	2 1/4"
KC Nāginī	2"
Tokyo Nāginī	2"

f) Meaurement of top of eyebrow to bottom of the nose

ND Nāginī	3"
KC Nāginī	3"
Tokyo Nāginī	2 1/2"

g) Measurement of top of eyebrow to beginning of hairline (i.e., top of forehead)

ND Nāginī	1 1/4"
KC Nāginī	1"
Tokyo Nāginī	1 1/2"

It is no exaggeration to say that the facial dimensions of the three sculptures, made by hand in the 1st century A.D., are remarkably close. In most of the categories, the ND Nāginī's head is larger than the others by a small degree, and the Tokyo Nāginī's head is smaller, also not by much. In sum, the difference in facial measurements is sufficiently slight to suggest that the three sculptures, found together, were made to belong together. However, judging from the differences and overall facial expressions, it seems likely that more than one carver worked on the statues. I do believe we have just what we might expect when three separate statues are hand-carved as a set during the 1st century A.D., namely slight variations due to different hands, and/or the impossibility of exact duplication even by the same hand.

2. *Scaled frontal, full-length photographs of the Nāginīs*

The comparative scaled imagery of the Nāginīs (Fig. 13.18), is a composite constructed according to specific steps. Ms. Mary Sorrentino, a graphic designer affiliated with the University of Memphis, scanned

into her computer three slides of the three Nāginīs taken by Jamison Miller during the exhibition period. Mr. Miller had made a special set of slides on which he placed a center vertical line running the entire length of the figure. (Presumably, Mr. Miller was guided by the belly button to determine the center, and he probably extrapolated coordinates for the ND Nāginī to determine the position of its belly button, now missing.) Next, Ms. Sorrentino scanned in the printouts of the three measured faces. She reduced and overlaid each printout until it coordinated with the face of the matching full figure scanned in from the slide. This step insured that the three full-length figures adhere to the 'golden rule' of the accurately measured faces. A composite was then made of the three full-length Nāginī figures. These were lined up according to a secure horizontal reference point, namely the chin. A line was made by Ms. Sorrentino which connects all the Nāginīs' chins on the composite image. The other horizontal lines going through the composite image were established relative to the chin (horizontal) and the belly button (vertical) coordinates. Let us now read the results:

a) closely correlated features: the chin, necklace (note outer end of collier), hips, Mont of Venus, left fist, placement of girdle, and center drapery fold (close for Tokyo and KC Nāginīs).
b) fairly closely correlated features: eyes, barrel-shaped bead on long necklace, girdle tie on right thigh, knee cap (fairly close in ND and KC statues);
c) not closely correlated features: drapery swag circling right leg, start of leg anklets, extended width of left arm (i.e., distance from center vertical line to point inside left arm), perhaps the breasts, and probably the nose.

There are numerous closely correlated features; when these are added to the fairly closely correlated features, the tally far exceeds the number of features that do not correlate closely. The tally of correlated features together with the similarity of facial measurements contribute significant information pertinent to the question of authenticity.

The significant contribution made by the scaled photographs relates to the proportions of the ND Nāginī as compared to the other two Nāginīs. The ND Nāginī is broken in the middle of the drapery swag around the right leg and below the knee of the left leg; the other two sculptures continue down to the anklets. On the composite image, the three Nāginīs line up rather well to the upper thighs; it

is around the knee area that variations occur. The kneecaps of the Tokyo Nāginī are considerably higher that those of the ND and KC Nāginīs (indeed, the latter two have been noted as being fairly closely correlated features). Accordingly, the supposition is that the ND Nāginī is not very much taller than the KC Nāginī. Corroborating this supposition is the fact that the seven facial features of the ND Nāginī never exceed by more than 1 1/2" those of the other Nāginīs.

The scaled photographs lend further support to the hypothesis that the ancient sculptor(s) intended to create a set of visually similar statues.

Stylistic Analysis

The stylistic analysis is undertaken to determine the date and provenance of the Nāginī statues. The analysis is based on a comparison between the three statues and other pieces of assured authenticity. As such, the ensuing comparisons can also be read as additional evidence relating to the Nāginīs' authenticity. The main features to be compared are the face, posture, kneecaps and hairstyle.

The three Nāginīs share pronounced facial features even though their expressions are subtly different due to the slight variations in facial proportions described above. The head of the well-known 'Bodhisattva' statue, from Sārnāth, dedicated by Friar Bala in the year 3 of Kaniṣka's reign has a face similar in structure and expression to the faces of the ND and KC Nāginīs. Probably made in Mathurā the statue may be dated to the first quarter of the second century A.D. It serves here as the *terminus ad quem* for the Nāginīs' facial type. The head serving as the *terminus a quo* belongs to the female divinity standing in the center of the Amohini Āyavati (or Āyāgapaṭa) found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā (State Museum, Lucknow J1; Fig. 13.19). Both her face, stance, body type and modelling quite anticipate the Nāginīs. The Amohini Āyavati is inscribed in the 42nd, or in the 72nd, year of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa. The number seems to be a dynastic year, but its reading is under debate. Many favour reading the year '72',[28] although '42' is maintained by others. Her

[28] At the beginning of the century, Lüders argued for the reading of 72. See H. Lüders, "Three early Brāhmī inscriptions", *Epigraphia Indica* 9, (1907–'08), 239–248.

dates, accordingly, vary between 14/15 B.C. or 15 A.D. if allied to the Vikrama era; but the latter part of the first century A.D. is also possible based on another dynastic reckoning (favoured by H. Falk; personal communication 2/23/06). The Yakṣī from Akrur (Mathura Museum No. F 6, Fig. 13.20), also resembles the female divinity on the Amohini tablet. In a study surveying a particular hairstyle also found on the Nāginīs, the Akrur Yakṣī has been placed between the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. When first analyzed, this hairstyle was termed *coque ou bouffant de chevelure*.[29] In sum, comparative indicators relating to facial structure and features tend to place our Nāginīs in the Mathurā region between c. the mid first century A.D. to early second century A.D.

All the above pieces used for comparison also share the posture of the three Nāginīs. Among females in our sample, it is immediately apparent how close the stance of the Akrur Yakṣī and the Amohini tablet divinity is to that of the Nāginīs. But for their smaller waists, the body proportions of these two, especially the globular breasts and full hips, are remarkably similar to the Snake Goddesses. The Akrur Yakṣī also has a long necklace, a cloth ribbon above the beaded girdle tied like that of the Nāginīs, and, also like the three Nāginīs, flat yet finished carving on the reverse. Another early example of a female with this posture is the Goddess Vasudhārā on a first century A.D. relief from Bajna (near to Bhūteśvar, Mathurā; Mathura Museum No. 18.1411).[30] Fortunately, the right hand of all the above mentioned three females is still intact. Raised at the elbow, the Amohini divinity makes the *abhaya mudrā* gesture. But the hand

See J.E, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, (Leiden, 1949), 239–248. See D.C. Sircar, "Paleographic and Epigraphical Evidence on Kaniṣka's date" in *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham, (Leiden, 1968), 278ff., and D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta, 1965), 120. Cf. S.-R. Quintanilla, "Āyāgapaṭas: Characteristics, Symbolism and Chronology", *Artibus Asiae* LX.1, 79–137. See J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley, 1967), 299, fn. 11; he prefers to read 42. For additional discussions, see Doris Meth Srinivasan, ed. *Mathurā, The Cultural Heritage* (New Delhi, 1989), 403, under 'Śoḍāsa'.

[29] Rekha Morris, "Roman Hairstyle in Kuṣāṇa-Period Art of Mathurā?," *South Asian Archaeology 1987* (Rome, 1990). 787ff. See also her "Didargañj Yakṣī and the 'Coque, ou Bouffant de Chevelure' Hairstyle: A Reassessment," *Archives of Asian Art* 42 (1989), 77–81. These two excellent studies, in which the author implies that French art historical premises have been made and perpetuated by those disregarding visual nuances, have not received sufficient attention. I favor dating the Akrur Yakṣī closer to the first century A.D.

[30] See N.P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* (Mathura, 1966), Fig. 34.

of Vasudhārā and the Akrur Yakṣī is turned inward. This may be the way the Nāginīs held the right arm, especially since proof of appropriateness of this inward raised gesture for Nāginīs comes from a small, near contemporaneous Nāginī recovered at Sonkh, Mathura District.[31]

It may be well to pause a moment and reflect just how unusual this posture is for pre-Kuṣāṇa and early Kuṣāṇa females. No intact female sculpture from the Sonkh Apsidal Temple No. 2, the Snake temple, assumes this hieratic standing pose, nor does any female depicted on the Mathurā railing pillars found at Sanghol.[32] A completely frontal female, whose pudendum is covered and who exhibits no, or only the slightest, movement in the body, is a rare phenomenon in this early period. One example, albeit a seated example, is the Nāga Queen on the middle lintel of the bottom architrave of the Sonkh Apsidal Temple No. 2. This Nāginī sits on the right side of her consort, exhibiting a more balanced posture than he, and she has drapery covering her pudendum (in this volume, see Härtel's Fig. 12.34).

Another feature which bespeaks of an early dating is the peanut-shaped kneecap so prominently carved on the KC Nāginī. Actually, the Tokyo Nāginī displays the bulges, too. A less prominent, more natural kneecap appears on the right knee of ND Nāginī. This bone, which becomes more rounded and integrated on the legs of some of the Sanghol maidens,[33] may, when exaggerated as a peanut-shaped kneecap, be an indicator of the pre-Kuṣāṇa period. The best comparative example is found on the pre-Kuṣāṇa monumental Tree Goddess in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (No. M 86.21; Fig. 13.21). The figure appears to be made in Mathurā, although the Museum has no record of its find place. The treatment of her legs, particularly the broad thighs and bulging kneecaps, are astonishingly like those of our Nāginīs. The Tree Goddess has been

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[31] The upper part of the Nāginī was recovered in an area adjoining the Sonkh Apsidal Temple No. 2 (the Nāga Temple). See Herbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh, 2500 of a Town in Mathura District* (Berlin, 1993), 431–432. On the basis of coin evidence, the author dates Phase 2 of the Temple to the pre-to-early Kuṣāṇa Period.

[32] Härtel 1993, 430; S.P. Gupta, *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol* (New Delhi, 1985), 108; see Crossbar 42, side A. Note that the Sanghol pillars are contemporaneous with the Apsidal Temple, Phase 2.

[33] Gupta 1985, Figs. 6.3, 14.8, 11, 12, 24.

assigned to the first century A.D.[34] A few decades later, the same bulging kneecap can be noticed on the reverse of the middle architrave of the Sonkh Apsidal Nāga Temple; the playful Nāga sprite who places his foot into the jaws of the *makara* shows the same convention at the knee.[35]

Regarding the question of dating, it is noteworthy that several stylistic comparisons can be made between our Nāginīs and sculptures connected to the excavated Sonkh Nāga Temple. Since the Temple can be fairly accurately dated between the third quarter of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the second century, the implication is that the Nāginīs also fit into this time frame. The likelihood of the Nāginīs being made in Mathurā is also advanced; thereby their authenticity continues to be affirmed.

The hairstyle of the Nāginīs can be placed between first to beginning second century A.D. Following the distinctions Morris attributes to the bouffant hairstyle, the bun and side sections of the three Nāginīs conform more to the way the hairstyle is depicted on sculptures "that range approximately between the first century A.D. and the second century A.D. . . ."[36] In a somewhat earlier depiction of this bouffant style, the bun is not only more raised, but also wider, stretching almost across the whole forehead. In this grouping, Morris places the divinity on the Amohini Āyavati and the Akrur Yakṣī. While I am not entirely convinced that these variations can always be used as discrete dating tools,[37] they do seem to work for our Nāginīs. A first century A.D. date seems to be warranted. Perhaps

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[34] P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture* I (Los Angeles, 1986), 176–177.

[35] See Härtel 1993, 437, Fig. 2 Reverse.

[36] Morris 1990, 797. Characteristic of this style is that the bun is rather small and lies flat, as do the side strands that are pulled back.

[37] For example, on the basis of hairstyle Morris places the Cleveland Museum Nāginī (No. 68.104) and the National Museum Śrī Lakṣmi (Figs. 16 and 15, respectively, in her 1990 article), into the same group as the Amohinī divinity and the Akrur Yakṣī. She dates this group between the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. I would place her Figs. 16 and 15 into the middle of the 2nd century A.D. and posterior to the Nandan Nāginīs made in Mathurā. The features of the Cleveland Nāginī that suggest a later date are: a more integrated transition from convex to concave forms, the slight slimming down of volumes, and softer modeling. Also these other specific features should be taken into account: the more elaborate hair decoration in the back; necklaces that are less stiff, more pliant and more responsive to the contours of the upper torso; an open left hand; and a less static frontal pose.

the Nāginīs date several decades after the Akrur Yakṣī and the Amohini relief, approaching more closely the time of the Sonkh sculptures. I therefore propose to place the Nāginīs around the third quarter of the first century A.D.[38]

The side strands of hair are not treated in the same manner on all three Nāginīs and this difference made me review the issue of provenance. In the KC and ND sculptures, the strands, delineated by incised lines, are combed straight back behind the ears. The Tokyo Nāginī does not have all the strands pulled back; a mass of strands escapes to curl unto both cheeks. Side curls are not frequent in pre-Kuṣāṇa art from Mathurā, but they do occur. The Akrur Yakṣī has side strands which are not curled. A large, first century A.D. female of red sandstone looks like the KC Nāginī and has side curls (Mathura Museum No. F5). The Museum's label states that the provenance of No. F5 is Vrindavan, Mathura District. This information posits the appearance of the side curl within the Mathurā circle during pre-to-early Kuṣāṇa times; it therefore helps to anchor all the Nāginīs to Mathurā,[39] and the possibility that the Snake Goddesses were made in Mathurā and transported to Nandan.

The absence of stone at Nandan makes importation all the more probable. As mentioned earlier, no rock or stone rubble was seen in the village during my site visit in 2000. There was no stone rubble in the construction of village houses, nor was red sand hauled out of the Jumna during my visit, only grey sand. Apparently, no red sandstone is to be found in the river valley below the site. At minimum, the red sandstone used to carve the Nāginīs must have come from outside Nandan.

Sandstone quarries were located reasonably close to Mathurā.[40] This factor plus the characteristic Mathurā style reflected in the

[38] We are reminded that an Indian ivory statuette found in Pompeii and therefore of a date no later than 79 A.D., and probably closer to the mid first century A.D., has a hair ornament somewhat similar to that of the Nāginīs. The latest discussion relating to this well-known find is by Sanjyot Mehendale, "The Ivory Statuette from Bhokardan and its Connection to the Ivory Statuettes from Pompeii and Ter", *South Asian Archaeology 1991* (Stuttgart, 1993), 529–538.

[39] Interestingly, side locks, continue into the Kuṣāṇa Period. Note the female head, ostensibly made by the Mathurā School and displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi (No. 230).

[40] Information on sandstone quarries feeding into Mathurā's ateliers comes from several discussions with Shri M.C. Joshi in New Delhi during January and February 2000.

carving of the Nāginīs convince me that the Snake Goddesses were made in Mathurā and shipped, probably via the Jumna River, to Nandan. The riverine route between Delhi and Agra was navigable throughout the year, facilitating commerce and contact between Mathurā and Nandan. Nandan seems to have had sufficient resources to make a stop worthwhile. In ancient times, wealthy persons living there patronized the Mathurā School of Art. We know that a huge Kuṣāṇa image of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa (Mathura Museum No. 77.4),[41] was exported from Mathurā to Nandan. The patrons of Nandan should have paid handsomely to cover the cost of shipping a sandstone icon of Nārāyaṇa that was over 8' tall.

Worship of Nāginīs

Although Snake Goddesses are folk deities, indications are that the Nāginīs were worshipped, at Nandan, as major deities, not as minor godlings.

First, their importance is underscored by their size. In the several centuries around the Christian era, a life-size or greater than life-size statue represents a deity of superior rank. Only a few divinities are conceived as colossi in early Indian art, and most of these are male. A large statue of a goddess is rare indeed. The aforementioned pre-Kuṣāṇa Tree Goddess in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art is one such rarity. Thus, in the first century A.D., a *set* of life-size Nāginīs should have signified an unusual gathering of female power.

Did the Nandan Nāginīs share power with a Nāgarāja? Are we to imagine that originally one or several Nāgarājas stood with the Nāginīs? Such couples do exists in pre-Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times,[42] but I do not believe that our Nāginīs formed part of such

[41] See Doris Meth Srinivasan, "God as Brahmanical Ascetic. A Colossal Kushān Icon of the Mathurā School", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts* n.s X (1978–79), 1ff. Further bibliography is in Doris Meth Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes. Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art*, (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997), 243–245.

[42] A pre-Kuṣāṇa example is illustrated in *Indian Archaeology 1972–73—A Review*, 59 and Fig. A, being a Nāga and Nāginī from Gulgaon. One late Kuṣāṇa—early Gupta example from Mathurā is in Herbert Härtel, *Indische Sculpturen I* (Berlin, 1960), Fig. 20. Two separate Gupta sculptures comprising a Nāga/Nāginī pair,

couples. For one, no Nāgarāja has been associated with the site. Second, and most noteworthy, the iconography of the Nāginīs bespeaks of their own preeminence.

The number of snake heads in the hoods of the Nāginīs marks their superior cult status. All three Nāginīs exhibit the remains of nine or more snake heads in the hood. This is the highest number yet to be associated with either a Nāga's or a Nāginī's snakehood. The Tokyo Nāginī shows the remains of a nine-headed hood (Fig. 13.8). The KC Nāginī also appears to have a nine-headed snakehood (Fig. 13.7). To be sure, broken edges and faintness of some lines in both statues necessitate gauging and guestimating distances between incised lines demarcating separate hoods. The ND Nāginī seems to have nine or more snake heads in her hood (Fig. 13.5). A relief from the Sonkh Nāga Temple clearly establishes a connection between the number of snake heads in a hood and the rank of the associated figure. The so-called Court Scene (see Fig. 12.34 in H. Härtel's paper in this volume), indicates that minor Nāgas can be easily differentiated from major ones by the lesser number of snake heads in their hoods. The Nāga Queen and the Nāgarāja both are crowned with a seven-headed snakehood while the attendants have one head in theirs. The count of heads in the hoods of the Nandan Nāginīs indicates their high status. Interestingly, a nine-headed hood is seen on another Nāginī head made in Mathurā and dating to the Kuṣāṇa period.[43]

The third iconographic feature to designate the Nāginīs as major cult deities is the way their bodies are represented. It is far more common in early Indian art to render the female body in *contrapposto* than to represent it in the stiff, straight, and frontal manner of the Nāginīs. It may be argued that the females compared to the Nāginīs, namely the female on the Amohini tablet, the Akrur Yakṣī, and Vasudhārā also have this posture and that they are not major deities in the aforementioned images. The difference, however, between

are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 1987.415.2). Of course, another possible Kuṣāṇa pair is the Cleveland/Brooklyn example mentioned at the outset of this paper.

[43] See Rekha Morris, "Buddha Under a Ficus tree and two Sculptures from Mathura in the Sackler Museum, Harvard University", *Archives of Asian Art*, LI (1998–1999) 82, Fig. 4. Morris dates this head of a Nāginī to the late 1st century A.D. I would assign a date of late 2nd century A.D.

the females in those images and the Nāginīs is that the latter are a free-standing, life-size set and these converging features assure their superior status. Lest it be speculated that the Nāginīs need not have constituted a set and could have been erected at separate points in Nandan, it ought to be remembered that early Mathurā art was not adverse to creating sets, if beliefs so mandated it. For example, Lokapālas, or Guardians of the Four Cardinal Directions, are depicted by this date. Literary evidence shows that they are popular godlings in the several centuries around the Christian era.[44] In the art of Mathurā, they are shown as four identical figures standing in horizontal alignment on small stone and terracotta panels.[45] In the Buddhist art of Gandhāra, they occur in narrative reliefs, again as identically conceived personages.[46]

The Nandan Nāginīs are not, it would appear, allied to man's preoccupation with poisonous snakes, fear of snake bites, or other destructive aspects of snakes. Magical incantations to safeguard against harmful snakes are found in Vedic texts,[47] but this does not seem to be the context from which the Nāginīs' imagery and conceptualization arose.

The Nandan Nāginīs, like the deities of the Sonkh Nāga Temple, are a paean to a wondrous realm filled with enchanting beings whose human bodies sport but the slightest reference to their true serpentine nature.[48] A glimpse into this fantastic world is provided in some Vedic and Buddhist literature, the latter containing lore on the beauty of serpent maidens.[49] A story related by Xuanzang about 'The Śākya Youth who married a Snake Maiden . . .' alludes not only to the Nāginī's beauty but also to the reason she lost her human form.[50]

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[44] See references in Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India. Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature* (Berlin, 2001), 21.

[45] Wessels-Mevissen. 2001, 21, Figs. 4 and 5. Cf. N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow* (Lucknow, 1972), 53–54.

[46] E.g. see W. Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum* (London, 1996), Vol. 2, Nos. 189–192. Sir John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Cambridge, 1960), Fig. 77.

[47] E.g. *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā* 6.56.1; *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* II.1.9–10. Further references in unpublished ms. of Michael Witzel, *The Nāgas of Kashmir*. Section 5 on The Nature of the Nāgas; In the Vedas and in the Epics. I wish to thank the author for generously sharing this ms. with me.

[48] Härtel (1993, 425–426) expresses this idea well in his outline on the development leading to the Nāga Cult in Mathurā.

[49] See J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore* (Varanasi, Delhi, 1972), 134.

[50] Vogel 1972, 123–125.

Her previous bad deeds caused her to be reborn as a Snake Maiden. A Śākya Youth uses all of his accrued religious merit to restore her human body. He becomes a king and they marry, although he is unaware that her human body could not be fully restored. At night, as she sleeps, a nine-headed snakehood sprouts from her head. Could this detail lead us towards an understanding of the nine-headed hoods belonging to the Nandan Nāginīs? Is this number a sign of a Nāginī's beauty, dignity, and majesty?

The Nandan Nāginīs come from a region in north India where Nāga worship was particularly prevalent. The cult flourished in an area around Mathurā, as well as at sites to the south in the Sāñcī, Vidiśā, and Allahabad[51] areas, and at sites to the east in Bihar[52] and Orissa.[53] Perhaps the reason for the cult's prevalence in this broad stretch, comprising both the heartland of Brahmanism, the heterodoxies, and tribal regions, is that the Nāga Cult, obviously a folk cult, was able to coexist and even penetrate the other religions in these lands.[54] So for example, a Nāga desiring to learn the *dhamma* and free himself of his serpent status takes the form of a brahman youth to join the order of monks.[55] Or, a later Buddhist text refers to a Nāgarāja who belongs to the Brahman caste.[56] Significant for our interest in Nāginī worship in the Gangetic Valley is the Mahābhārata's citation of a *tīrtha*, or holy place of pilgrimage, named Sarpadevī (Serpent Goddess).[57] The passage suggests that Sarpadevī is a pilgrimage center located between the Jumna and Ganges Rivers, thus in the greater

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[51] Joanna Williams, "New Nāga Images from the Sāñcī Area", *Oriental Art* 22 (1976), 174–179. Julia Shaw and John Sutcliffe, "Ancient irrigation works in the Sanchi area: an archaeological and hydrological investigation", *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001), 55–75.

[52] Note Dr. H.K. Prasad, "The Naga-Cult in Bihar", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 46 (1960) 129–134.

[53] See S.C. Panda, *Naga Cult in Orissa*, (Delhi, 1986).

[54] See Vogel 1972, for a good overview of the integration of the Nāga Cult into Hinduism and Buddhism. Also see Richard S. Cohen, "Nāga, Yakṣiṇī, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta", *History of Religion* 37.4 (1998), 360–400.

[55] *Mahavāgga*. Vinaya Piṭaka No. 63.

[56] Marcelle Lalou, "Le Culte des Naga et la Thérapeutique", *Journal Asiatique* (1938), 6, fn. 3. Phyllis Granoff drew my attention to this paper.

[57] 3 (33) 81.13–14. It should be noticed that M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1960), 1184, cites 'Sarpadevī' as a name of a *Tīrtha*, as does Ved Kumari, *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, (Delhi, 1968–1972) 183, and J.A.B. van Buitenen (*The Mahābhārata*. Books 2 & 3 [Chicago, 1975] 379, translates "Sarpadarvī" [*sic*], "the greatest ford of the Snakes."

territory that includes Nandan. Sarpadevī is not an anomaly; a look at Kane's list of *tīrthas* contains about ten sacred places in this northern part of India that seem to be connected with snakes.[58]

A remarkable description of a sacrificial session in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* gives further indication of the rapprochement between Nāga worship and the Brahmanic mainstream.[59] The passage (XXV. 15) describes a *sattra* in which some of the officiating ritual specialists are Nāgas. The rite, also noted in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (17.18), and in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (3.10), is performed so that nāgas can conquer death, that is, so that they can attain immortality. Some of the Gṛhya Sūtras also contain accounts of the Sarpabali ritual, an annual rite lasting four months; the Sarpabali seems to have a twofold aim, namely to ward off snakes in the rainy season, and to honour divine serpents.[60]

An inscribed Mathurā image from the time of Kaniṣka II is an actual depiction of Nāga and Nāginī worship (Mathura Museum Nos. 210–211). The image, a sandstone relief from Rāl Bhaḍār, shows a row of devotees: five males, five females and two children. They pay homage to a group of Nāgas; the large Nāga is flanked by two shorter Nāginīs. They are all depicted as humans but with the addition of snakehoods; the male has a seven-headed hood, the females' hoods contain three. At the bottom of the relief is an inscription that reads, ". . . a tank and a garden (were caused to be made) for the holy Nāga Bhumo (as) the donation of . . .".[61] This relief offers two points important for the interpretation of the Nandan set. First, here is an example where snake deities are worshipped as a group. Although the literature attests to this sort of worship (see below), it can often be overlooked if an uncritical eye is cast on the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa sculptural remains. During these ages, single representations of Nāgas or Nāginīs undoubtedly predominate, but not always as this example of a group shows. (The occasional example of a Nāga & Nāginī couple has already been mentioned.) Second, the inscription specifies that the place of worship is outdoors, near a body of water. An outdoor setting by a tank is mentioned in two

[58] P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras* 4 (Poona, 1953), 783.
[59] My thanks to Michael Witzel for pointing out this passage to me.
[60] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra II.1; Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra II.14.
[61] H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed. K.L. Janert (Göttingen, 1961), # 102.

other Kuṣāṇa inscriptions (one from Mathurā, one from Gandhāra) associated with snakes.[62] And, of course, the Sonkh Nāga Temple (Apsidal Temple No. 2) supports such a linkage for it seems to have originally stood by the banks of a river.[63] The evidence from the Rāl Bhaḍār image can be applied to the Nandan images, supporting as it does the notion that a group, or a set of Nāginīs, is not conceptually improbable. Furthermore, their probable find place near to the Jumna river, according to the Nandan villagers, is precisely where one would expect to find them.

Establishment of Snake deities near water may not only be characteristic of the Nandan's Snake images; the connection exists farther south in the area of Sāñcī. A recent study has found that of the sixteen groups of Nāga sculptures dating between the 2nd century B.C. and the 10th century A.D. whose provenance is known, "seven are associated with irrigation reservoirs, five with village tanks and four with rivers or streams."[64]

From Gandhāra to Sāñcī, then, with Mathurā in between, we have direct evidence that images of Nāgas and presumably Nāginīs were formally erected close to a temple, a garden, and/or a body of water. Some of these icons are large, masterfully carved and engraved with an inscription. They should have been costly to erect, and someone or some group should have derived considerable benefits in so doing. It is hard to imagine a more sophisticated type of 'folk cult'. Even so, the Nāga Cult in Mathurā's environs with its Nāga Temple and superbly crafted Nāga sculptures does not seem to have left texts or ritual manuals. There is, to the best of my knowledge, no direct, relevant documentation regarding the manner in which pre-Kuṣāṇa Nāginīs would have been set up and the type of ritual worship such icons may have received. The only approach I can propose is to peruse the texts of religions which incorporated Nāga/Nāginī worship, thereby determining if rituals are described in ways that could reflect ancient modes of practice.

Fortunately, both the Hindu and Buddhist textual traditions contain a few useful descriptions, albeit in later works. The *Rauravāgama*,

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[62] Lüders 1961, # 137. From Gandhāra we get a Kharoṣṭhī inscription stating that a tank was made for the worship of all snakes. See George Bühler, "A New Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Swat", *Indian Antiquary* 25 (May, 1896), 141–142.

[63] Härtel 1993, 413.

[64] Shaw and Sutcliffe 2001, 68.

a south Indian *śaivite* ritual text probably dating to the 7th century A.D. presents detailed descriptions in two chapters (38 and 57), on the proper rituals to install nāga images, and the fruits to be gained from nāga worship.[65] Chapter 38 describes the way the Nāgarāja image should look; the actions to be taken to 'open the eyes of the image'; where it should be placed, and the type of mantras and oblations that should be offered to it. The latter appear to be taken from the *śaivite* tantric realm. The tendency to place Nāga images in formal settings, as noted in the ancient Mathurā inscriptions, continues here. The chapter states that the image is installed on an altar situated in the center of a pavillion, fronting the temple which is built to specific dimensions. Interestingly, the entire rite is undertaken to rid a person of any injuries coming from snakes. In other words, there is an intermingling between the theriomorphic and anthropomorphic nature and power of Nāgas. The description of the installation of a Nāga image in Chapter 57 is much longer and more complex. Even though the main image to be installed in Chapter 57 seems to be a theriomorphic icon of a serpent, features of this rite may help in contextualizing the Nandan Nāginīs. Of considerable interest is that this ritual reflects a remarkable number of Vedic tendencies; it has thus absorbed some of the religious atmosphere predominant in ancient Mathurā, a stronghold of Brahmanism, that emphasized Vedic culture and religious practices. In the *Rauravāgama* rite, the officiating priests are Brahmans; recitations are from the Vedas or recall Vedic models (i.e., a Nāgagāyatrī is recited), and the appropriate places where an image can be installed is highly reminiscent of Brahmanic cultural traits. It may be well to think of the pre-Kuṣāṇa Brahmanic environment in the Gangetic Valley as I quote this section of Chapter 57 from the *Rauravāgama*:

> Le sage doit faire l'installation de Mahānāga dans un temple. Il faut construire un temple qui lui est propre ou bien il faut faire l'installation de Nāga dans un temple de Śiva (ou) de Viṣṇu, ou au bord d'une rivière ou d'un étang ou dans un lieu sacré (*tīrtha*) ou bien encore dans des endroits purs, ou encore à proximité d'un banyan.[66]

[65] Chapter 52 in the same *āgama* contains a ceremony to appease snakes in case a person has injured the young or the eggs of a snake. Here is another instance where the ritual has the animal, not the divinity in mind.

[66] B. Dagens et M.-L. Barazer-Billoret, *Le Rauravāgama*, II, (Pondichéry, 2000), 375.

In citing that the placement of a Mahānāga (i.e. Great Nāga) image may be near a river, or a tank, or a sacred place, or near pure places, or near a banyan tree, this 7th century text recalls that the location of the Rāl Bhaḍār image (see above) and the huge Nāgarāja of Chargaon in Mathurā District are by tanks of water (see also Footnote 62). Clearly, images of snake deities in and around Mathurā, in the Sāñcī area (as noted above), and presumably in southern India (if we are guided by the *Rauravāgama*), from pre-Kuṣāṇa, to Kuṣāṇa, to Gupta times and beyond, could be set up outdoors near water or trees, or inside a temple.

The Nandan fragment found at the site in 2000 reveals which of these options—outdoors or indoors—applies to the Nāginī set. The fragment of a Nāginī's feet rests on a rectangular base, beneath which appears a roughly hewn and tapered tang (Fig. 13.11). It is evident that the tang was the part stuck into the earth, and that the part above the ground started with the rectangular base. Apparently, the Nāginīs stood outdoors on a base supported by a tang. Twilley's work on the KC Nāginī confirms this. He found surface features on the sandstone that are the natural result of the stone's weathering above ground and its exposure to the elements over long periods of time.[67] Other features that he found on the KC Nāginī would indicate that the sculpture may have been buried at some point.[68] Presupposing that the fragment discovered at Nandan implies that all the Nandan Nāginīs would have terminated in a tang, it can only be assumed that initially the tang secured each Goddess firmly into the ground. This technique was commonly used to erect images outdoors; it can be noticed in both Kuṣāṇa sectarian and folk deities. For example, a Maheśa in the University Museum, Philadelphia, rests on a tang,[69] as does the huge (2 meter 40), Chargaon Nāgarāja (Fig. 13.22; Mathura Museum No. C 13). So too was Bhikṣu Bala's 'Bodhisattva' image installed outdoors along a *caṅkrama*, or promenade taken by the Buddha. To these we may now add the Nāgas from the Sāñcī region which stood out-of-outdoors. The strong indication is that the Nandan Nāginīs would also have stood outdoors and probably near to a source of water, be it either the Jumna, or

[67] J. Twilley, 1998, 6. The author refers to a process of 'spalling' noticed on the stone. This process, he adds, does not occur during burial.

[68] Twilley 1998, 11.

[69] University of Pennsylvania, University Museum. Mathura Maheśa.

perhaps the large depression (in the area where the villagers placed the Nāginīs) which may originally have been a tank of water. Did trees shelter them? Did a garden exist in the vicinity? Today there are no clues to answer such specific questions.

What is likely, when the information from the surface treatment of the KC Nāginī and the tang at the bottom of the Nandan fragment is combined with known locations of other ancient Nāga sculptures is that the Nāginīs were probably worshipped outdoors at Nandan.

Conclusion: Contextualizing the Nandan Nāginīs

At the outset, I listed four charateristics that render the Nandan Nāginīs unique. To repeat, the Nandan Nāginīs are an anomaly because they represent a 1st century A.D. set of life-size Snake Goddesses, that is, a group of monumental deities from the popular religious sphere. Having discussed their probable authenticity, dating, their status as major divinities, and the likelihood of their worship outdoors near water, it remains to show that this unique set is not a cultural anomaly, since the four characteristics I listed can be credibly anticipated and applied to Nāginīs.

The rarity of life-size female images in early art has already been noted, and the pre-Kuṣāṇa LACMA Tree Goddess has already been mentioned as belonging to this special category; the Mathurā Tree Goddess, though broken somewhat below the knees stands 6 feet, 3 inches. Now, however, is the time to indicate that a life-size Nāginī from Mathurā, earlier than either the Tree Goddes or the Nandan Serpent maidens, has come to light. Dating between the 2nd-1st century B.C., a red sandstone Nāginī housed in the National Museum, New Delhi (Acc. No. 72.71) measures 135 × 43 × 37 cms., though her feet are missing.[70] Much of the carving is effaced, but it is still possible to discern that the Nāginī stands straight, faces forward, has no bends in the body, and that the pleating of her lower garment covers the pudendum. She represents therefore *one* of the earliest monumental Snake Goddess known to date. Just recently another, equally ancient Nāginī probably from Sāñchī has been published

[70] See Asthana, 1999, Entry No. 59; 54.

(No. P.2004.02 in the Norton Simon Museum).[71] The Sāñchī Snake Goddess shares the posture, the monumentality (57 in./144.8 cm), and modestly draped pleating of the Mathurā Goddess. These are among the earliest colossi, but not *the* earliest female colossus if the Dīdārgañj caurī-bearer is placed into the Mauryan period, as is my inclination. The Nandan Nāginī set therefore does have precedents. Though these early Nāginīs and the Nandan Nāginīs, together with the Tree Goddess are rareties, they exemplify a pattern. It cannot go unnoticed that the examples of early monumental female sculptures[72] represent folk deities—a Tree Goddess, Snake Goddesses—as well as the Dīdārgañj caurī-bearer who probably belongs to the secular realm.[73] The reason is not hard to find. India's sculptural tradition begins with stone carvings representing official art and images worshipped by the folk. Worship of deities representing powers in nature (such as rain, rivers, trees, mountains, caves, the ocean etc.) as well as those causing fertility, strength, well-being, victory dominion etc. probably existed from prehistoric times onward; the worship continued along with, and influenced, later sectarian (and secular) imagery. Indeed, when the need for devotional icons arose, among the first to become concretized were the folk deities. The Nāga Cult fits this paradigm. Worship of Nāgas, maintains V.S. Agrawala "was there [in India] even prior to Yakṣa worship."[74]

Though the discovery of a set of life-size Nāginīs may be surprising to some, those acquainted with Vedic, Hindu and Buddhist literature will not find the appearance of such a set unusual. Quite a number of religious texts in these traditions cite lists of Nāgas groups.[75] *Atharva Veda* (AV) hymns mention groups of four[76] or six snakes, and these may be connected with the directions in the sky.[77]

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[71] Pratapaditya Pal, *Durga: Avenging Goddess Nuturing Mother* (*Pasadena*, 2005), Fig. 12.

[72] The subject of monumental sculptures of male personages is not taken up here.

[73] Please see my "The Mauryan Gaṇikā from Dīdārgañj (Paṭaliputra)" *East and West* Vol. 55, Nos. 1–4 (December 2005), 345–362.

[74] *Ancient Indian Folk Cults* (Varanasi, 1970) 105. Agrawala insinuates the great antiquity of the cult by illustrating its near primordial nature from a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.6.2.2): "Surasā, the mother of the gods, was an epithet used for Mother Earth. Kadrū, the mother of the Nāgas, was also a term for Mother Earth."

[75] The following discussion owes much to Witzel's ms., "The Nāgas of Kashmir". I also rely on Vogel, 1972.

[76] See AV 6.56.2; 5.13.5–6; 10.4.13.

[77] See AV3. 26 and 27 for a group of six snakes. Cf. Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.5.10.

Vogel notes that the group of six in AV 3.27 is regarded as *dikpālas* prior to the standard four or eight *lokapālas* (i.e., both terms referring to guardians of the directions, in the sky and on earth) in later Hindu mythology.[78] The *Mahābhārata* (MhBh.) contains several long lists of Nāgas of which the following are but a sampling: MhBh. 1.31.1 ff. lists seventy-six names as "the chief Nāgas". Five Nāga groups comprising eighty-seven separate names are listed in MhBh. 1.52; and sixty-seven Nāgas are enumerated in MhBh. 5.101.8 ff. The Purāṇas also give long lists; forty-one Nāgas are given in *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.8.66–71; fifteen names occur in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.24.29–31; and eight Nāgas are listed in the *Agni Purāṇa* (Chapter 294 ff.). A list of groups of Nāgas in Buddhist literature includes the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which cites the names of eight Nāgarājas;[79] eighty Nāgarājas and fifty-five common nāgas are given in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. In addition, Witzel provides a list of Nepalese Nāgas together with a multitude of Nāga names listed in the Kashmiri *Nīlamata Purāṇa*. A quick overview of all the material collected by Witzel is presented here mainly to show that it is a common pan-Indic phenomenon to group Nāgas together. Also, it may be recalled that numerous human royal families traced their lineage to the union of a male and a beauteous Nāginī.[80]

A specific reference to a ritual sequence involving a group of Nāginī Powers occurs in the *Rauravāgama*. An ancillary ceremony performed during the rite on installation of a Nāga image (Chapter 57) is to the "huit jeunes filles commençant par Śakti et terminant par Śakti"[81] (Chapter 57, vss. 53–63). The names of the eight females recall serpentine connections: Kamalā, Utpalā, Padmā, Nāgakanyā, Śyamalā, Dehinī, Pādasarpā and Śeṣabālā. Contained within this ceremony is a meditation upon the cult of Nāgeśvarī. Just before this ceremony involving what may be termed as eight Nāginī Śaktis, a group of eight Nāgas receive homages. They form four pairs acting as door guardians disposed on the sides of the pavillion's portals

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[78] Vogel 1972, 8–9.

[79] Witzel cites the reference as "Kern, Bunyiu Nanjio, p. 4, line 11. Witzel notes that the Buddhist lists of Nāgas differ considerably from the Brahmanic ones. He remarks that the difference is probably due to the different centers of these religions. Obviously, a comparison of names and the resultant interpretation of differing lists falls outside the purview of this paper.

[80] Further discussion in Witzel, "Nāgas".

[81] Dagens et Barazer-Billoret 2000, 382.

which houses the main deities (see Chapter 57, vss. 39–52 and fn. 27 in Dagens et Barazer-Billoret, *Le Rauravāgama*, 380). The *Rauravāgama* ceremonies, cited on pages 375–377 and 380–381 of this paper, illustrate that it is not uncommon to worship Nāgas and Nāginīs in groups, and that it is usual for such groups to be positioned in some kind of pattern. Nāginīs occurring in certain Buddhist rituals are also placed in specific positions.[82] A ritual, preserved in a Tibetan source, can be helpful in contextualizing Nāgas of an earlier age, since it, too, has elements reminiscent of Vedic ceremonies. The ritual attributed to Śrī Dīpaṅkarabhadra requires the drawing of a circular *maṇḍala* wherein the action takes place.[83] Eight Nāgas and eight Nāginīs are made of barley flour and set within the sacred space; the wives of the eight Nāgas are placed at the outer rim of the *maṇḍala*. As for the Nāgas, four face in the cardinal directions and the others face the interstices. Additionally, four Nāgas are stationed at the four entrances to the *maṇḍala*. Again, the notion is reinforced that Nāga and Nāginī images, whether of flour or stone, are placed in the ritual arena according to specific patterns deemed ritually efficacious. Specific placement of Nāgas and Nāginīs is upheld in yet another Buddhist ritual also attributed to Śrī Dipaṅkarabhadra. Here, the ritual arena is a *maṇḍala* in the form of a lotus. On its open petals are placed the Nāgas, their wives, or Nāginīs, and their sons. One pattern that reoccurs in these descriptions is placement of the Nāgas as doorkeepers facing the quadrants. We are reminded of the set of guardians mentioned above, namely the Gods of the Four Directions. In the art of Gandhāra during the 5th–6th century A.D., these Gods of the Four Directions assume the same positioning, that is, they face each of the quadrants.[84]

The close relationship between Nāgas, Nāginīs and sets of directional gods has surfaced several times in both the religious literature and the early art. This is an important point. Reference to a connection between snakes and the directions in *AV* 3.27 has already been mentioned. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.2.5.17) delegates serpents (*sarpa*) to the West when allocating different classes of beings to the

[82] Cited by Lalou 1938, 1–19.
[83] This ritual, in the Tibetan, is called *klu'i gdon-las grol-bar-byed-pa sbrul 'jin gsaṅ-ba źes-bya-ba.*
[84] Wessels-Mevissen 2001, 19.

different quadrants. According to Witzel, "groups of Nāgas as *lokapālas* are also found in later literature, but, interestingly, with quite different names."[85] He cites fairly early texts: *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefman, pp. 387–391) and the *Cullavagga* 5.6 85. The connection between Nāgas/ Nāginīs and the directions in early religious art allows for a comparison between the depiction of snake deities and directional deities during similar periods. Like the Nandan Nāginīs, *lokapālas* are not distinguished from one another by iconographic details. Just as the Nandan Nāginīs stand in the rigid *samapāda* pose, so too do the *lokapālas*. And, of course, both groups belong to the category of 'folk cults'. *Lokapālas* are the only group of figures in early Indian art and literature known to me that have so many discreet characteristics overlapping with the Nāginī set. There are, to be sure, some important differences—*lokapālas* are minor deities carved standing in a row on small stone or terracotta panels, and only in the Gupta period do they face the four quarters; Nāginīs are major cult divinities individually carved for probable positioning into some spatial arrangement.

Theoretically, the same options are possible for the placement of the early Nāginīs as exist for the early *lokapālas*. The Nāginīs could have been positioned in some linear fashion along a water's edge. However, if we accept that there were originally four Nāginīs, then the possibility is strong that each one would have faced in one of the cardinal directions. The numerous connections between Nāgas/ Nāginīs and doorkeepers, guardians,[86] and Gods of the Four Directions lead me to conjecture that the four Nāginīs were set up so that each female faced a quadrant. Possibly even stronger confirmation for this disposition of the Nāginīs is that a Sonkh icon, which originally may have been the main icon of the Sonkh Nāga Temple, is a four-sided Nāga image showing identical Nāgarājas on the obverse and reverse.[87]

The Nandan Nāginīs, beauteous and powerful, may well have stood outdoors by some body of water; facing the four directions, they would have received the circumambulating worshippers desirous of the safety and fertility they believed that the Goddesses could bestow.

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[85] M. Witzel, "Nagas". Cf. Wessels-Mevissen, 2001, 5.

[86] The role of Guardian continued in the art; see for example the beauteous Nāga couple guarding the portals of the Buddha's sanctuary at Ajanta, Cave 19.

[87] Härtel 1993, 432 and Fig. 22. See Fig. 12.40 in this volume.

Illustrations

Fig. 13.18 Comparative Scaled Image of the Three Nāginīs. Photograph by Mary Sorrentino.

Fig. 13.19 Amohini Āyavati from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathurā. c. 14 A.D. State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. J 1). Photograph after Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*. (Allahabad, 1901). Pl. XIV.

Fig. 13.20 The Akrur Yakṣī. Mathurā. Between late 1st century B.C. – early 1st century A.D. Mathura Museum (Acc. No. F 6). Photograph courtesy The Government Museum, Mathura.

Fig. 13.21 Tree Goddess, Uttar Pradesh, Mathurā. 1st century A.D. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M 86.21), Purchased with funds provided by Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch. Photograph copyright 2004 Museum Associates/LACMA.

Fig. 13.22 Nāgarāja from Chargaon, deinstalled in 2000 and lying on the Museum's floor. Kuṣāṇa Period. The Government Museum, Mathura (Acc. No. C 13). Author's photograph.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS: MULTICULTURAL SYSTEMS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Pia Brancaccio

The northwestern region of the subcontinent, historically a corridor connecting the Indian peninsula to Central Asia and the West, was not the only multicultural milieu in ancient India. The Deccan plateau, under the control of the Sātavāhana kings from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. also was exposed to diverse models as a result of its involvement in maritime trade with the Mediterranean.

The present paper aims at defining the particular forces that characterized these two multicultural societies, in an attempt to shed light on their response to different waves of foreign contact. The dynamics of selective appropriation and recontextualization of imported models that took place in Gandhāra and in the Deccan will be examined through a series of case studies, with particular emphasis on the less known region controlled by the Sātavāhana rulers.

The Greater Gandhāran region and the Deccan Plateau showed different degrees of cultural permeability. The Northwest, due to its geographic location, was always a land where diverse people converged. Best known are its Hellenistic antecedents; Alexander the Great expanded the easternmost boundaries of the western world in the fourth century B.C. to include Greater Gandhāra. He left behind a trail of Hellenized kingdoms, as confirmed by the archaeological finds.[1] A vast array of Greek names belonging to Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek sovereigns who controlled this region in the last centuries before the current era, is preserved in the numismatic

[1] A survey of this evidence is in D.W. MacDowell and M. Taddei, "The Early Historic Period: Achaemenids and Greeks," in *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, eds. F.R. Allchin and N. Hammond (London, New York and San Francisco, 1978), 187–232.

evidence.[2] While participating in the Hellenistic *koine* or common language, the Northwest was essentially an Indian land where people from Central Asia continuously settled. Various groups throughout the centuries moved into Greater Gandhāra and blended into the local landscape: foremost are the Śakas in the first century B.C. and the Kuṣāṇas in the first century A.D. In addition to the historic layering of different ethnicities, a continuous stream of foreign people, artifacts and ideas percolated through this area adjoining the main trade routes between China and the West. Thus the extreme receptivity of Gandhāra is well represented by its artistic repertoire, where Hellenistic, West Asian, Central Asian and Indian elements co-mingled, creating a unique northwestern idiom.

The Deccan did not have such an old history of cross-cultural interaction. Unlike Gandhāra, no major waves of foreign immigration occurred in this region, which was just a terminal branch of East-West trade. The inland areas of Mahārāṣṭra, Āndhra Pradesh and Karnataka were famous for their semiprecious stones and ivory, shell and bone crafts that reached the Northwest and further destinations. Evidence of artifacts moving from the Deccan to Gandhāra, in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period, is preserved in the archaeological record of Taxila. A bone handle (Fig. 14.1) found in the early strata of Sirkap[3] can be closely compared to a similar object from Ter (Fig. 14.2),[4] which was a thriving ivory and bone manufacturing center in the heart of the Deccan. The presence of such imports in the datable context of Taxila, besides indicating trade connections between the two areas, provides a more secure chronological horizon for the Ter handle, a surface find generally attributed to the second century A.D.[5] The international fame of the bone and ivory carvers of the Deccan is well represented by other finds. Some of the Indian ivories found at Begram, in Afghanistan, have been identified as second century products of Āndhra Pradesh;[6] an ivory figurine possibly

[2] A brief historical survey of this region appears in W. Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in The British Museum* (London, 1996), 14–19.
[3] J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols. repr. (Delhi, 1975), II, 658, nos. 43, 44, 45, 46. These four handles appear as an homogenous group.
[4] From the B.R. Lamture Private Collection. *Dawn of Civilization in Mahārāṣṭra* (Bombay 1975), 75, no. 60a.
[5] *Dawn* 1975, 75.
[6] E. Rosen Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* (Delhi, 1994), 91–97.

carved in the workshops of Bhokardan, a Sātavāhana town located within the same cultural region as Ter,[7] reached the Roman town of Pompeii through long distance sea commerce.[8]

Maritime trade between India and the Mediterranean was established around the first century A.D., transforming the Deccan into a true protagonist on the international scene. Western merchants began their journey from ports like Myos Hormos and Berenike along the Egyptian Red Sea to land on the western coast of India, using the seasonal monsoon winds to sail in a relatively short amount of time. The involvement of Egypt in trade with South Asia started even before the Roman conquest in 30 A.D., as already in the mid third century B.C. the king Ptolemy II Philadelphus excavated a canal connecting the Nile to the Red Sea[9] to facilitate the transportation of goods from Alexandria to the Red Sea and hence to the Indian Ocean. Western literary sources in Latin and Greek[10] often mention trade itineraries and types of merchandise exchanged. The most relevant text is undoubtedly the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* compiled by an anonymous merchant from Alexandria during the first century A.D.[11] It was conceived as a manual for Indian sea trade; it gives us a careful list of the items exchanged, their specific provenance in India, and the ports where these goods were available for shipment. We know that during the Roman times commerce between the Mediterranean and India reached its peak, as spices, particularly black pepper, were highly desired in Rome.[12] Luxury articles also moved along with the spice trade, as is attested

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[7] S. Mehendale, "The Ivory Statuette From Bhokardan and Its Connection to the Ivory Statuettes From Pompei and Ter" in *Proceedings of the International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, 1991* (Stuttgart, 1993), 529–538.

[8] S. De Caro, *The Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Napoli, 1996).

[9] S.E. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythrea Thalassa, 30 B.C., A.D. 217* (Leiden, 1986), 67.

[10] There is a vast literature on the topic. For the Roman and Hellenistic periods see for instance J. Andre, *L'Inde Vue de Rome: Textes Latins de l'Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde* (Paris, 1986), and J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901).

[11] The date of the Periplus has been widely discussed. Most recently see Gérard Fussman, "The *Periplus* and the Political History of India" in *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*, eds. F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (Delhi, 1997), 66–7.

[12] J.I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to 641 A.D.* (Oxford, 1969). Also F. De Romanis, "Rome and the *Nótia* of India: Relations between Rome and Southern India from 30 B.C. to the Flavian Period" in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia, 80–160.

by the above mentioned Indian ivory from Pompeii, probably a *curiosité* that came along with items that were more in demand, such as textiles and gems used in glyptics or jewelry.

The traded goods were paid for in precious metals, thus leading to a significant flow of Roman silver and gold coins to the subcontinent.[13] The archaeological finds confirm what the classical literature has handed down to us, as Roman coins were found throughout peninsular India especially in the South.[14] Together with coins valued for their intrinsic metal content, precious objects of Western manufacture reached India with the commercial exchange. In this light the unique Brahmapuri hoard of Roman bronzes is a significant testimony to the appreciation for Western artistic production in the Deccan region.[15]

Inscriptions at the Buddhist cave complexes in the western Deccan attest to the sporadic presence of non-Indian ethnic groups. At centers like Junnār or Kārlī excavated around the first century B.C. along the main trade routes, a number of epigraphs recording names of donors were found as attestations of devotion.[16] Among the various individuals, some identify themselves as *Yavanas*. Although the meaning of this word is quite debated, it is widely accepted that the term, originating from the Persian *Yauna*, was employed in the Buddhist cave inscriptions by people with some kind of western affiliation. While there is not enough evidence to know what the effective role of *Yavanas* was within the Sātavāhana society, it is possible that they worked as traders or guards, as the Śaṅgam literature of south India indicates.[17] The written records mentioning *Yavanas* are complemented

[13] F. De Romanis 1997, 119–120.

[14] P.J. Turner, *Roman Coins in India* (London, 1989). Discussions of finds of Roman coins in India appear, among other sources, in A.K. Jha, ed., *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, (Nasik, 1991).

[15] While excavating the Brahmapuri mound near the modern town of Kolhapur in Mahārāṣṭra, a hoard of 102 bronze objects was found. Among them were at least ten pieces of classical provenance, including an exquisite Poseidon of Hellenistic manufacture, an *emblema* depicting Perseus and Andromeda, an intact *oinochoe*, and a pair of vessel handles with figural decoration. Unfortunately this extraordinary find lacks stratigraphic provenance, but it can be roughly dated to the first century A.D. on the basis of the peculiar assemblage of classical pieces. R.D. De Puma, "The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur" in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, eds. V. Begley and R.D. De Puma (Madison, 1991), 82–112.

[16] J. Burgess and B. Indraji, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, repr. (Delhi, 1976), 41–55; 27–37.

[17] H.P. Ray, "*Yavana* Presence in Ancient India," *Journal of the Economic and Social*

by artistic evidence that offers information on how foreigners were perceived and how the local audience responded to non-indigenous models. In particular, terracotta artifacts represent a precious source of information as they reflect in a cheap and widely diffused medium, the common taste, trends and orientations of the time.

At sites like Ter in Mahārāṣṭra and at other centers in the western Deccan and Āndhra Pradesh, double moulded terracotta tokens, labeled *bullae* by modern scholars, have been found in significant numbers (Fig. 14.3).[18] They replicate Roman coins in the guise of pendants and usually have a little attachment for hanging. These baked clay objects, fabricated by joining two single molds together, both technically and visually represent a clear break from the traditional handmade Indian terracottas.

The popularity of *bullae* at Sātavāhana centers can be attributed to the wide diffusion of the original prototypes. Roman coins were the most accessible objects of western provenance circulating on the subcontinent. They were conceived by their makers to be vehicles of propaganda, to carry, in a small size, a condensed code of information and ideas, and as such they offered a rich visual repertoire to the new Indian audience.[19] As Roman coins were not within the

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History of the Orient 31 (1987): 311–325. See also K. Kartunnen, "Yonas, Yavanas and related matter in Indian Epigraphy" in *South Asian Archaeology 1993. Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, ed. A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio, (Helsinki, 1994), 331–332.

[18] The Latin term *bullae* has been used to identify these Indian terracotta pendants replicating Roman coins. S.B. Deo, "Roman Trade: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Western India," in Begley and Puma, 40. However '*bulla*' generally designates round metal plaques worn by Etruscan and Roman children for good luck, and coins used as auspicious ornaments by the Romans, Egyptians and Byzantine people. It seems that the same notion of using coins as ornamental amulets spread to India at the beginning of the current era as result of crosscultural interaction with the Mediterranean; no earlier Indian currency used as jewelry appears in the archaeological evidence. A good example of a first century Indian coin transformed in *bulla* is the silver *drachma* of Nahapāna overstruck on an Indo-Parthian coin from the Jogalthāmbi hoard (district Nāsik), now in the British Museum. J. Cribb, "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the 'Periplus,' in *Indian numismatics, history, art and culture: essays in the honour of P.L. Gupta*, eds. D.W. MacDowall, S. Sharma and S. Garg, (Delhi 1992), 145, fig. 20.

[19] Remarkable is the find of a metal imitation of a Roman gold coin used as a pendant within the reliquary assemblage of the main stupa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Āndhra Pradesh. See E. Rosen Stone, 1994, 29. Dating to the second century A.D., this site was earlier controlled by the Sātavāhana kings and very active in the western trade circuit.

reach of the average person, terracotta *bullae* started to be produced in the form of fashionable and auspicious amulets to wear on the body.[20] By following the process of transformation of valuable coins into affordable Indian pendants, it is possible to detect how foreigners from the West were perceived in the Sātavāhana land. In the replication process, a conscious choice of motifs was carried out. What seems to have attracted the curiosity of the Indian audience was the ethnically unique and charismatic depiction of the Roman emperor. The curly hairdo and prominent nose of the imperial portrait were uncommon features on the subcontinent, and the profile was an unusual way of depicting the human form. This was the standard manner of portraying rulers in the ancient coinage of the Mediterranean world and the Northwest of India, but not in the Deccan plateau where the currency consisted of punch marked pieces of metal.[21]

Exotic fascination was behind the diffusion of baked clay *bullae*. Obviously, the appropriation and recontextualization of foreign forms imply a change in the original meaning, especially when the regions involved are so culturally distant. I have argued elsewhere that the non-ordinary and powerful features of the emperor were perceived as attributes of *yakṣa*-like guardians, and thus particularly appropriated for jewelry that retained the function of an amulet.[22]

If exotic curiosity determined the popularity of terracotta *bullae* in the Sātavāhana territory, where foreign models, appearing suddenly, created an 'Occidental' fashion, the same interest was not shared in the Northwest. Terracotta pendants inspired by Roman coins are absent from the large repertoire of Gandhāran artifacts. Very few coins used as *bullae* were found in the region; best documented are

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[20] For a discussion of the magic power of coins see J. Cribb, *Magic Coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1999).

[21] Only around the beginning of the current era, coins bearing royal portraits started to acquire importance in the Deccan plateau. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī issued silver coins with royal portraits and restruck Kṣatrapa coins of Nahapāna with the ruler's effigy. I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (Delhi, 1980), 94. The contacts traceable between the Sātavāhana and the Kṣatrapa coinage have been discussed by A.N. Lahiri, "Contacts and Influences as Revealed by the coinage of the Satavahanas," in *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations*, ed. A.M. Shastri (Nagpur, 1972), 62–74.

[22] P. Brancaccio, "Perceptions of 'Westerners' in Sātavāhana Times: The Archaeological Evidence" in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Conference on South Asian Archaeology, Paris*, eds. C. Jarrige and J.F. Jarrige (Paris, 2005).

the five Kuṣāṇa examples excavated at the Buddhist monastery of Jauliāñ.[23]

The above mentioned evidence appears to be indicative of the differing forces that governed cultural encounters in the ancient subcontinent. The Deccan centers were intrigued by the completely new idiom displayed by the Roman coins, while Gandhāra, with a long history of multiethnic layering, was quite used to the circulation of westernizing coinage and thus not so receptive to the coin-*bulla* format. In short, western models were a source of fascination in the Deccan, while they had a more ordinary status in the Northwest. In fact, exoticism is a notion that can be hardly applied to Gandhāra, where much was indigenous and foreign at the same time.

The diffusion of squatting terracotta figurines in the Sātavāhana archaeological layers sheds further light on these issues (Fig. 14.4). These small bejeweled images seem to relate in their posture to the indigenous fertility tradition (Fig. 14.5). However, the Sātavāhana types are different both in iconography and technique from pre-existing figurines. They were made using the double mould technique, a method of production that was popular throughout the classical world, especially in the prolific Egyptian ateliers.[24] It is not surprising that the Sātavāhana squatting terracottas, anomalous within the Indian tradition, can be technically and typologically related to the rich body of Alexandrian coroplastic.

The Egyptian terracotta representations of Baubo, (Fig. 14.6)[25] a popular character in the Eleusinian myth, can be directly compared to the squatting double moulded figurines from the Deccan. Images of Baubo, with evident hints to fertility, were used as votive or protective devices and were part of the traditional substratum of popular Egyptian cults. According to the Orphic tradition, Baubo assumed a funny posture with her legs open and genitals exposed in order

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[23] Marshall 1975, II, 631; III, pl. 191, no. 95.

[24] S. Besque, *Catalogue Raisonné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-cuite Grecs et Romains*, Vol. IV–ii, (Paris, 1986). James Harle discusses some of these Egyptian finds and gives a brief bibliography of this material. J. Harle, "The 'Indian' Terracottas from Ancient Memphis: Are they Really Indian?" in *Akṣayanīvī, Essays Presented to Dr. Debala Mitra in admiration of her scholarly contributions* (Delhi 1991), 55–61.

[25] E. Breccia, *Terrecotte Figurate Greche e Greco-Egizie del Museo di Alessandria* (Bergamo: 1934), pl. CIII.

to comfort the Goddess Demeter for the loss of Kore and to invite the deity to smile again.[26]

The resemblance between these two images, belonging to distant cultural basins, seems less than casual. It supports the hypothesis that the double mould technique might have reached India as a result of cultural exchange with the West.[27] But as we know, technology does not travel by itself: people and especially artifacts are its *vāhanas*, responsible for carrying a condensed code of information and ideas. Models like the squatting figurines must have reached India through unaware agents, likely merchants who brought along objects of protection and devotion from their own lands. It was not a trade in terracotta figurines, but simply a cultural interaction that happened as a result of commercial activities, and found expression in fertile curiosity, exchange of ideas and technology. Foreign models were selectively appropriated and recontextualized when they seemed familiar to the indigenous background. The Baubo figurines offered a new repertoire to the Indian tradition of images related to fertility.

This is not the only instance where objects associated with Orphic rituals were assimilated and reinterpreted within the Indian context. An alabaster egg containing a curled Eros found at Junnār[28] is an interesting example of this connection, as the primordial egg is a basic concept both in Orphic mythology and traditional Indian cosmogony.

Another Sātavāhana figurine related to western models and retaining an auspicious meaning, is a rattle from the ancient site of Bhokardan in Mahārāṣṭra. Manufactured in double moulded baked clay, this image can be seen as a representation of a corpulent *yakṣa* (Fig. 14.7a–b). Again for this unusual terracotta, the vast repertoire of Egyptian coroplastic is perhaps a source. The Bhokardhan rattle appears to be inspired by representations of satyrs with deformed figures and irreverent facial expression, belonging to the so-called

[26] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VII vols (Zürich, 1981–), I, 87–90.

[27] This has been suggested in M.N. Deshpande, "Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art" in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine sur les Cultures Périphériques, Huitième Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique*, (Paris, 1963), 604–605.

[28] This small egg from Junnār was published in R.M. Cimino ed., *Ancient Rome and India* (New Delhi, 1994): pl. 10. The object appears to be related to Orphic imagery, as remarked by both M. Taddei and P. Guzzo, Archaeological Superintendent in Pompeii during conversations I had with them. It is conceptually and formally similar to an artifact from Metaponto, in Southern Italy, discussed in P. Guzzo, "Il Corvo e l'Uovo. Un Ipotesi Sciamanica." *Bollettino d'Arte* 67 (1991): 123–128.

body of Alexandrian '*grotesqueries*.'[29] However, greater formal and conceptual affinities can be traced between our Indian clay rattle and images of the Egyptian god Bes (Fig. 14.8),[30] essentially an Egyptian *yakṣa*, whose origin and devotional tradition can be traced back to the ancient times. Bes was represented in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt as a grotesque dwarf with a large face, thick eyelids and a big nose. Most often portrayed in the squatting position, with a round body, short legs and open mouth, he was thought to bring good luck and keep away evil forces.[31] Just like the squatting Baubo, it is possible that small images of Bes made their way to India with merchants who were challenging the natural forces of the ocean.

From these case studies, it appears that as result of thriving Indo-Mediterranean trade, an interest in foreign forms developed at Sātavāhana centers. Curiosity in the exotic enticed the local milieu to adopt new visual solutions: while the form might be somehow foreign, the content was always deeply Indian. In short, images of Baubo became local fertility deities and figurines of Bes were nothing but alternative representations of *yakṣas*.

In Gandhāra these specific models never acquired popularity. There are only a few terracotta examples that can be generally compared to the squatting figurines from the Sātavāhana sites, and a handful of *yakṣa*-like images in baked clay were found in Taxila.[32] This absence could suggest that Gandhāra was interacting with different cultural spheres, affecting the formation of the local visual language. However, finds from Taxila confirm the presence of Egyptian objects dating to the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods.[33] Unlike the Deccan, where they were an absolute novelty and became a source of fascination, in Gandhāra these trade objects did not ignite the same curiosity, as there had long been a flow of diverse people and artifacts. It seems that in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period the Hellenistic fashion dominated Gandhāran taste,[34] and thus sporadic objects reaching this

[29] Breccia 1934, pl. CIII, nos. 598, 599, 600.

[30] L. Torok, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt*, (Roma, 1995), no. 11.

[31] *Lexicon* 1981, I, 107.

[32] Marshall 1975, II, 450, nos. 40–44.

[33] A good example is the Harpocrates bronze figurine from Sirkap in Marshall 1975, II, 605, no. 417. The Egyptian imports are one-of a-kind type of artifacts.

[34] P. Callieri, "Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swat, 2nd cent. B.C.–4th cent. A.D." in *Sources of Gandhāran Buddhism: Archaeology, Art and Texts*, eds. K. Behrendt and P. Brancaccio (Vancouver, 2005).

area with traders clearly had far less impact on the already 'occidentalized' local production. In brief, while western elements were part of the Gandhāran genetic code, and artistic trends were formed as result of cohabitation of people belonging to different communities, in the Deccan western fashions were the fruit of exotic and short-lived choices.

This is also confirmed by the selection of architectural forms employed in Gandhāra and in peninsular India. Corinthian capitals, absent from the Deccan, were extremely diffused in Gandhāra, where they occur both in the architectural contexts and in the sculpture. Everyone would agree that the consistent employment of this motif in the Northwest was not due to a passing fashion. The Corinthian capital was truly Gandhāran, yet it retained its original function and look. It came with people, craftsman and cultural notions, and was used locally with great awareness of the original western grammar. In short, it was not an exotic shape briefly appropriated and transformed, but was part of the Gandhāran ancestral heritage, as the finds from Aï Khanoum confirm.[35]

Conversely, in the Sātavāhana Deccan, where the Corinthian module was never adopted, traditional Indian animals combined with more extravagant mythological beasts made their appearance on capitals. It is interesting to observe that sphinxes are represented in this area: they occur in the early Buddhist rock cut complex of Pitalkhorā (Fig. 14.9), and in terracotta, a lid from Ter being a good example (Fig. 14.10). This motif is unmistakably Egyptian, and might have reached India with portable baked clay prototypes such as the one from Alexandria illustrated here (Fig. 14.11).[36] The short lived and limited success of the sphinx in the Sātavāhana region, seems again to indicate that traveling models from abroad became fashionable, but were not able to establish a long term presence within the local cultural substratum.

The Buddhist art flourishing on the subcontinent at the beginning of the current era provides evidence in support of this line of reasoning. It is surprising to observe that in the Buddhist cave temples of the western Deccan created under the Sātavāhanas, where many

[35] This evidence is illustrated, among other sources, in David W. MacDowell and Maurizio Taddei 1978, 221, figs. 4.27, 4.28.
[36] Breccia 1934, pl. CXLII.

inscriptions signed by *Yavanas* are found, only a few sporadic western elements occur. On the other hand Gandhāra produced an artistic idiom that manipulated a rich western vocabulary with great awareness.[37] In the Northwestern stone reliefs used to decorate Buddhist monuments, many figures wear non-Indic attire and display their ethnic identities in quite a natural way. The Buddha himself wears western garb and his faithful companion Vajrapāṇi is most frequently represented as a Classic Hercules. The choice of the Gandhāran artists is certainly intriguing: they depict the Indian religious leader rebelling against the laws of *karma* wearing a robe *à la grecque*, to use Gérard Fussman's words.[38] Is this iconography the result of an extravagant preference? I would like to suggest that the artistic selection carried out by the Gandhāran ateliers was, on the contrary, very pragmatic and is illustrative of the deep multicultural roots of the region. In an effort to strongly establish Buddhism in Gandhāra, the relatively new religion adopted a visual idiom that was congenial to the recipients. The Buddhist religion was obviously targeting a particular audience in the area, likely to offer financial support. As discussed earlier, the wealthy elite at the beginning of the current era developed a strong taste for western forms. This cultural trend seems to have shaped the vocabulary of the earliest Buddhist art in the Northwest, as the Buddha had to speak the same language as his followers.

Conclusion

This brief exploration of categories of Indian artifacts that appear to be in dialogue with western prototypes, hopefully sheds light on the mechanisms of reinterpretation and recontextualization of foreign models. I have attempted to uncover how western forms impacted the artistic production of the Deccan Plateau and Greater Gandhāra at the beginning of the current era. By doing so, the distinct characters of these two different multicultural areas can be brought into

[37] See for instance the discussion in M. Taddei, *Arte Narrativa tra India e Mondo Ellenistico* (Roma, 1993).

[38] G. Fussman, "Upāya-Kauśalya. L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra," in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations. Actes du colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991*, eds. F. Fumimasa and G. Fussman, (Paris, 1994), 27.

precise focus. The Northwest, which witnessed the convergence of heterogeneous cultures throughout its history, became visually polyglot. Therefore its art displays a nonchalant variety of motifs of diverse provenance that came into the region with waves of people and was locally elaborated in a unique and long lasting Gandhāran fashion.

In contrast, the Deccan plateau, which was historically less exposed to foreign currents, became an international protagonist with the flourishing of maritime trade across the Indian Ocean. The impact of the foreign prototypes moving along the Deccan trade circuits is recorded in the local artistic production that looked with interest to these new models. The presence of a large corpus of terracotta artifacts bearing traces of this cross-cultural interaction indicates that a true 'Occidental' fashion developed during the first centuries A.D. However it was just an exotic and transitory trend that soon became obsolete, leaving few traces in the later cultural horizons.

Illustrations

INDEX

FIGURES



Fig. 3.1 Imit (Ishkoman Valley) bronze rhyton with a spout in the form of a centaur holding an ibex. Photograph after *Crossroads of Asia,* E. Errington and J. Cribb, eds. (Cambridge, 1992), 20.



Fig. 3.2 Inscribed silver Buddhist Reliquary with an ibex figure joined to the top (late first century B.C./early first century A.D.). Photograph courtesy of the Miho Museum, Japan.



Fig. 3.3 Kandia valley bronze plaque in the shape of an ibex with shoulders and rear legs in an s-shaped spiral. Photograph courtesy of the Heidelberg Academy for Humanities and Sciences, Germany.



Fig. 3.4 Chilas Bridge petroglyph of an animal style scene in which a *felid* (snow leopard?) pursues a *caprinus* (ibex?). Photograph courtesy of the Heidelberg Academy for Humanities and Sciences, Germany.


Fig. 4.1


Fig. 4.2


Fig. 4.3


Fig. 4.4


Fig. 4.5

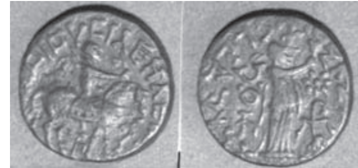

Fig. 4.6


Fig. 4.7


Fig. 4.8


Fig. 4.9


Fig. 4.10


Fig. 4.11


Fig. 4.12


Fig. 4.13


Fig. 4.14


Fig. 4.15


Fig. 4.16


Fig. 4.17


Fig. 4.18


Fig. 4.19


Fig. 4.20


Fig. 4.21


Fig. 4.22


Fig. 4.23


Fig. 4.24



Fig. 5.1. Marble head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.



Fig. 5.2. Side view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.



Fig. 5.3. Back view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 1982.

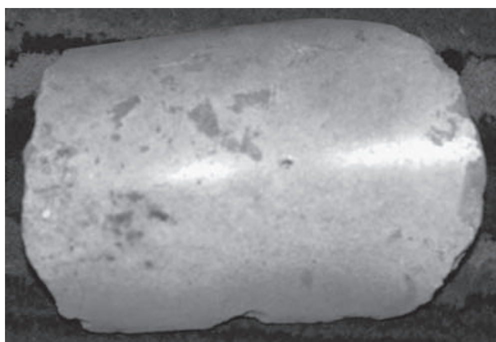


Fig. 5.4. Frontal view of the Torso: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.



Fig. 5.5. Torso seen from the bottom: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photograph taken in 2000.


A


B


C

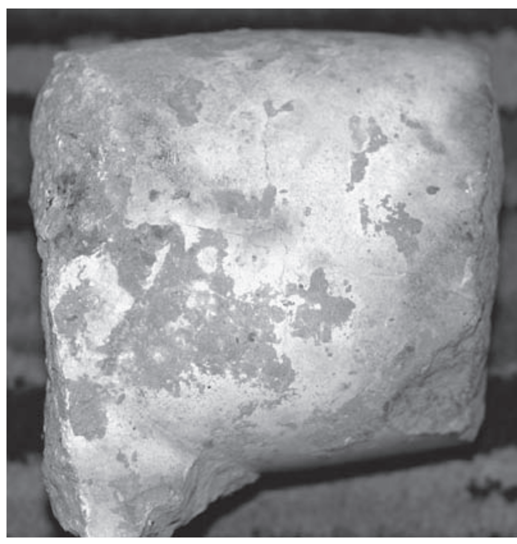
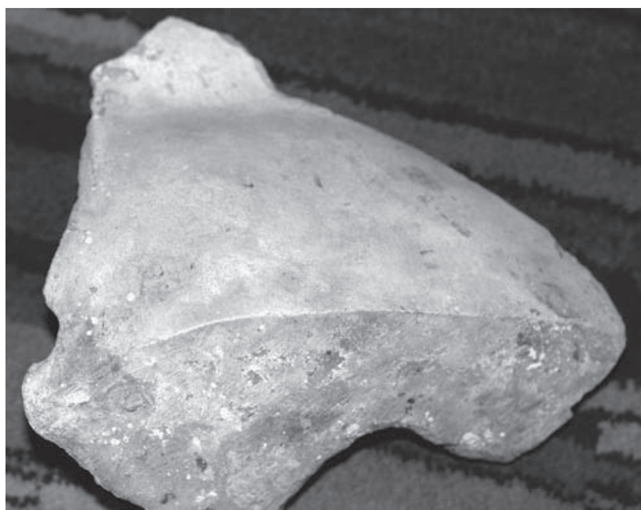
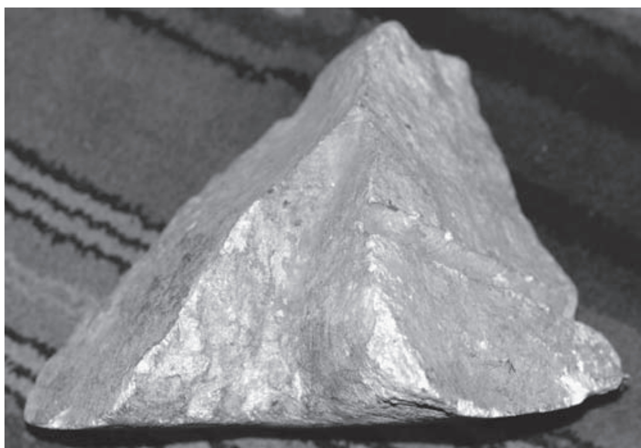

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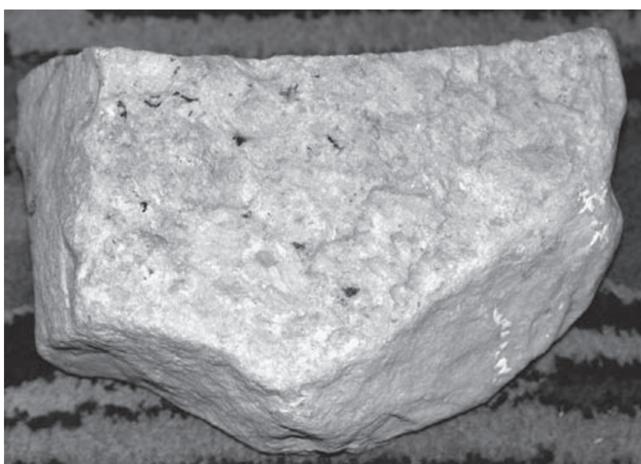
Fig. 5.6. A-D. Fragments of the hand: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photographs taken in 2000.



A



B



C

Fig. 5.7. A-C. Fragments of the bust: Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. Photographs taken in 2000.

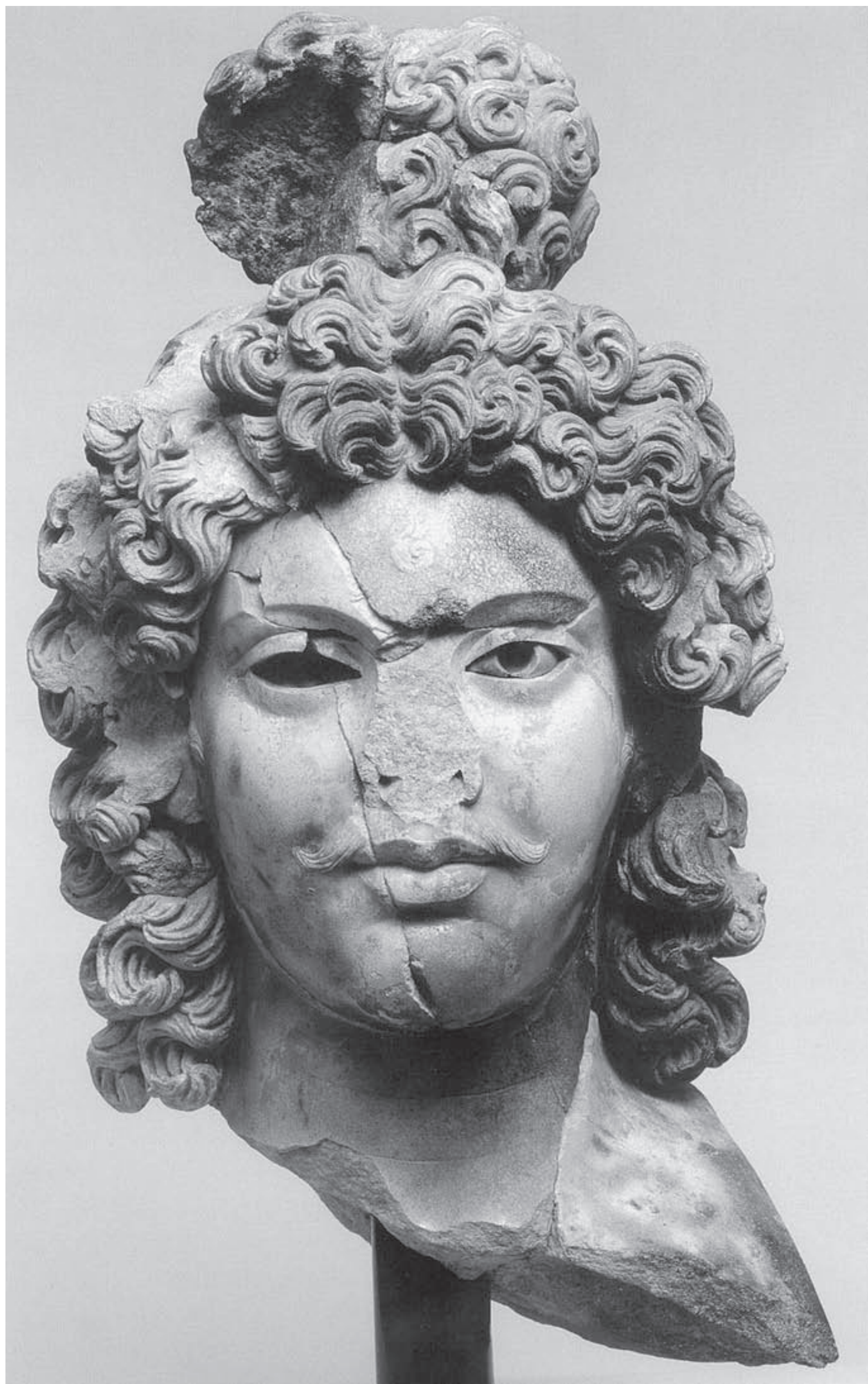


Fig. 5.8. Head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala. By courtesy of G. Ortis.



Fig. 5.9. Back of the Head of the Bodhisattva image from Takal Bala.
By courtesy of G. Ortis.



Fig. 5.10. Reconstruction of the acrolithic image of Bodhisattva from Takal Bala (drawing by François Ory).



Fig. 6.1 Barikot, general view from E (Neg. IsIAO 15571/21).



Fig. 6.2 Barikot, general view from W (Neg. IsIAO 14674/12).



Fig. 6.3 Trench BKG 1 (Neg. IsIAO 15570/16).



Fig. 6.4 Trench BKG 2 (Neg. IsIAO 16479/19a).



Fig. 6.5 Trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16512/33A).



Fig. 6.6 Trench BKG 4-5 (Neg. IsIAO 17700/24, 25).



Fig. 6.7 Barikot, general plan, with the indications of the trenches excavated by us (BKG 1 to 4) and by Professor Stacul (BKG A to M). The figures within circles indicate structural remains of various nature recorded during the survey (after Olivieri 2003: general plan; descriptions of the structures are given in that volume). Scale 1:5000.



Fig. 6.8 The fortification wall in trench BKG 4-5 (Neg. IsIAO

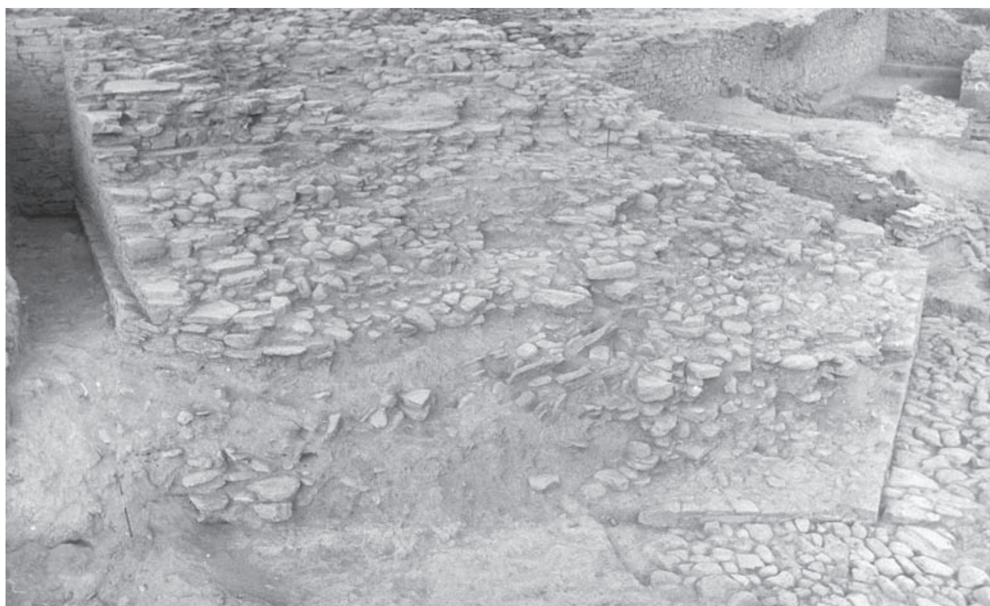


Fig. 6.9 The tower at the southwest corner of the town (Neg. 17518/32).



Fig. 6.10 The wall and the tower on the south side in trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16478/33a).



Fig. 6.11 Potsherd with Greek inscription, red ware, inv. no. BKG 516, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 14199/27). 1.8 cm, scale 1.5:1.



Fig. 6.12 Potsherd with Greek inscription, red ware, inv. no. BKG 852, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15549/6a). Scale 2:1 (h. 3.2 cm).

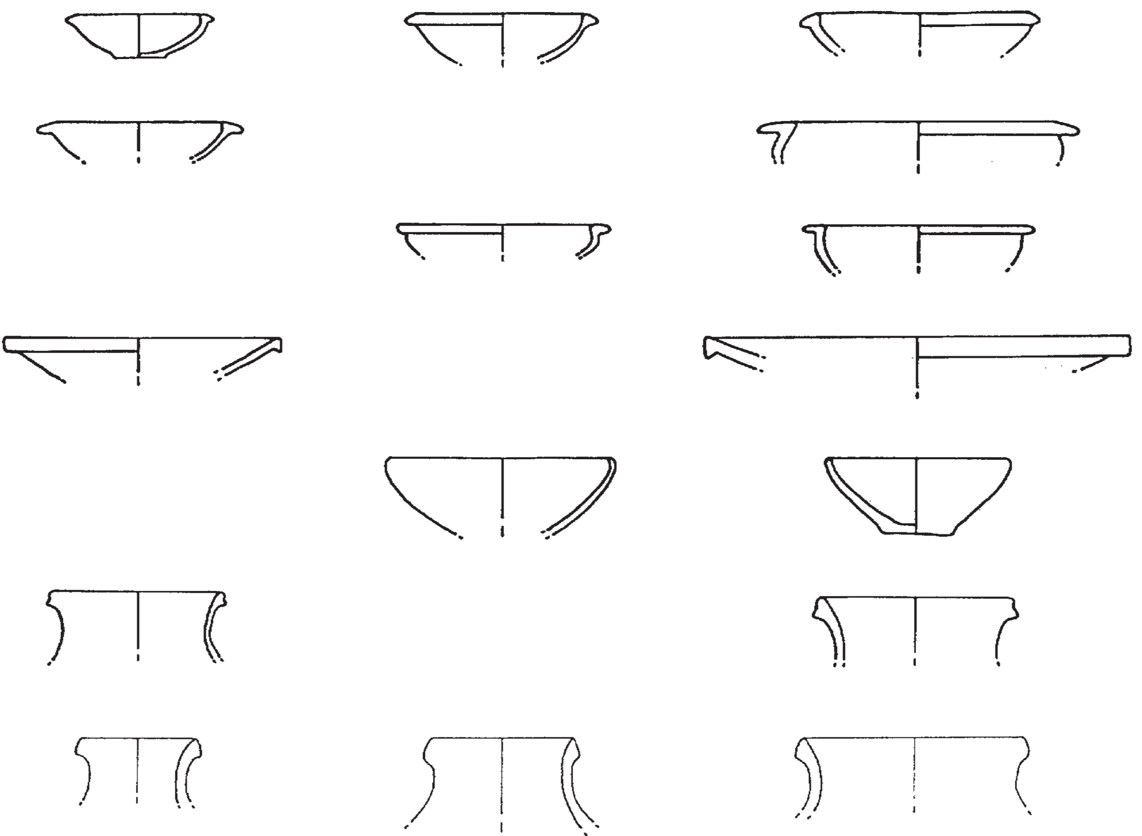


Fig. 6.13 Comparative ceramic evidence from Greek Bactria (J̌iga Tepe, Termez) and Barikot (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:4

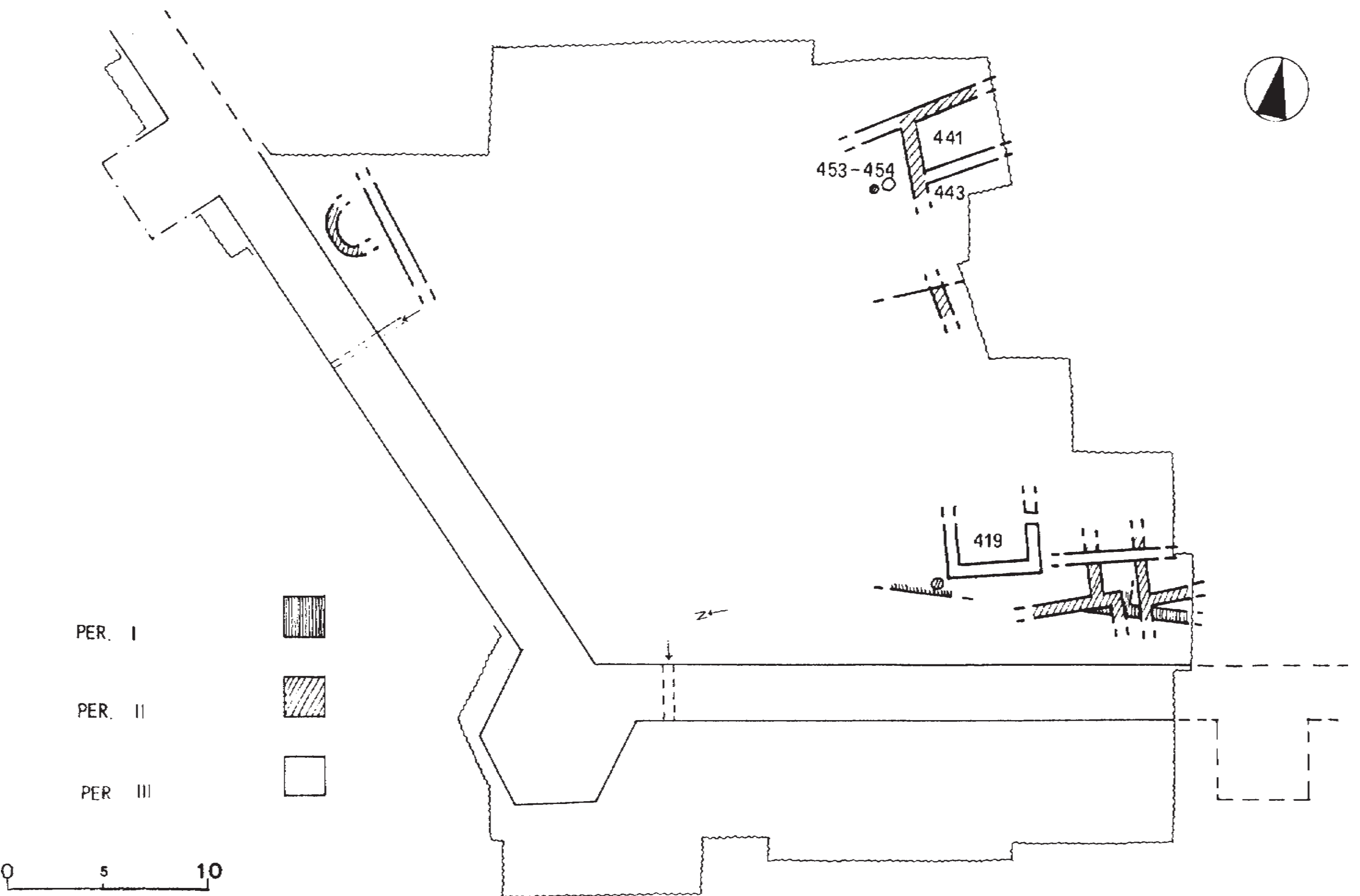


Fig. 6.14 Plan of Trench BKG 4-5 in Per. I-III (Drawing IsIAO).

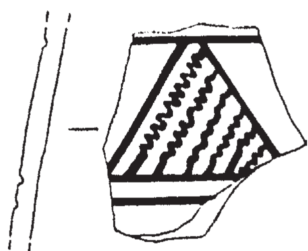


Fig. 6.15 Potsherd with black-on-red painted decoration, field reg. no. 1391, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:1.

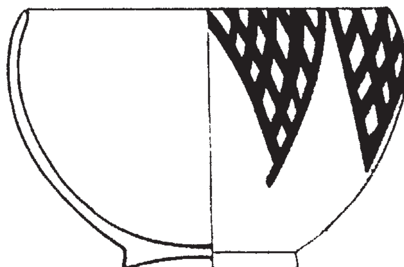


Fig. 6.16 Potsherd with black-on-red painted decoration, field reg. no. 1353, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:2

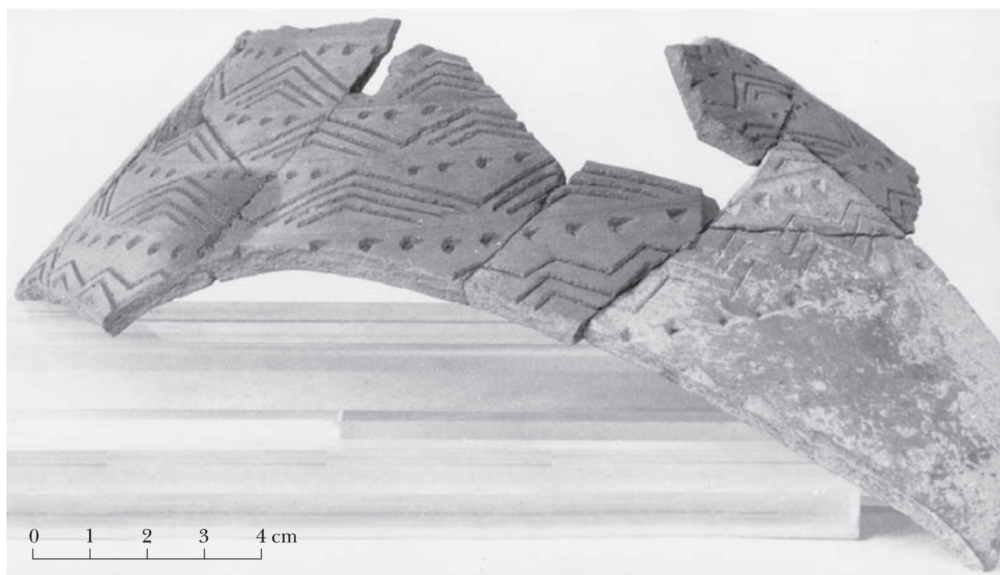


Fig. 6.17 Potsherd with incised decoration, field reg. no. 1410, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Neg. IsIAO 17526/34a).

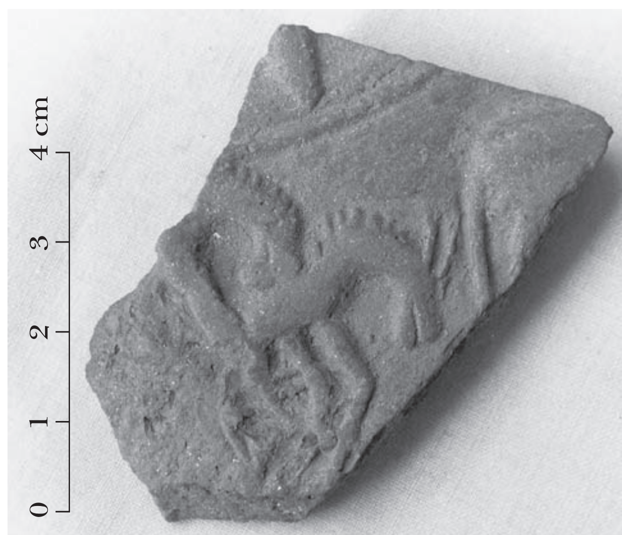


Fig. 6.18 Potsherd with embossed decoration, red ware, inv. no. BKG 1326, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16484/10a).

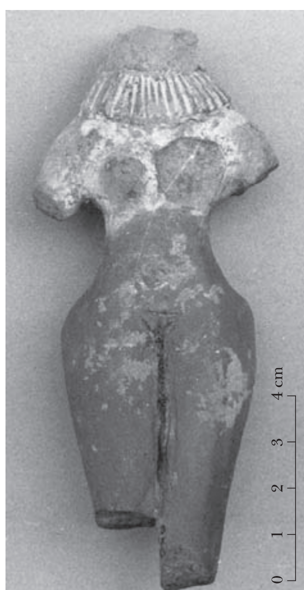


Fig. 6.19 Female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 800, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15548/31a).



Fig. 6.20 Fragment of a female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1533, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 17528/21).



Fig. 6.21 Female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 812, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/21a).

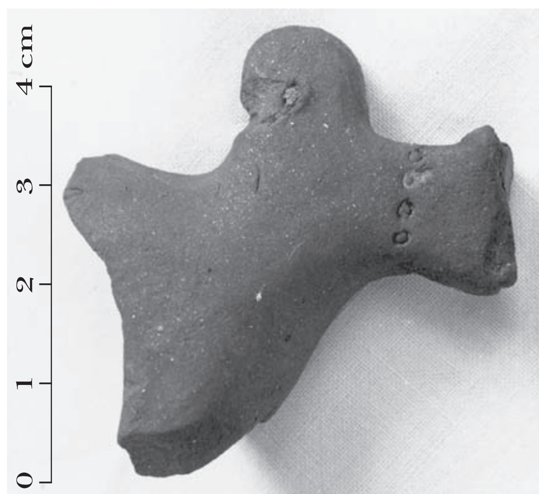


Fig. 6.22 Animal figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1339, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16481/36a).

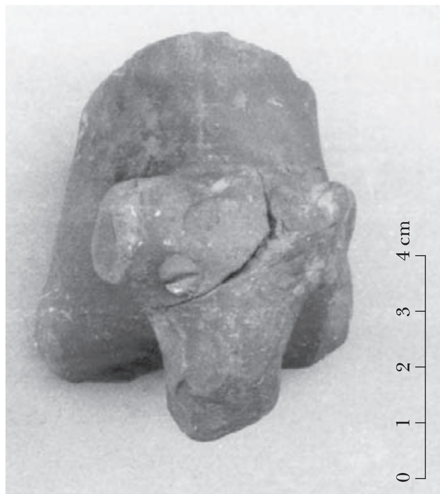


Fig. 6.23 Animal figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 799, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/9a).

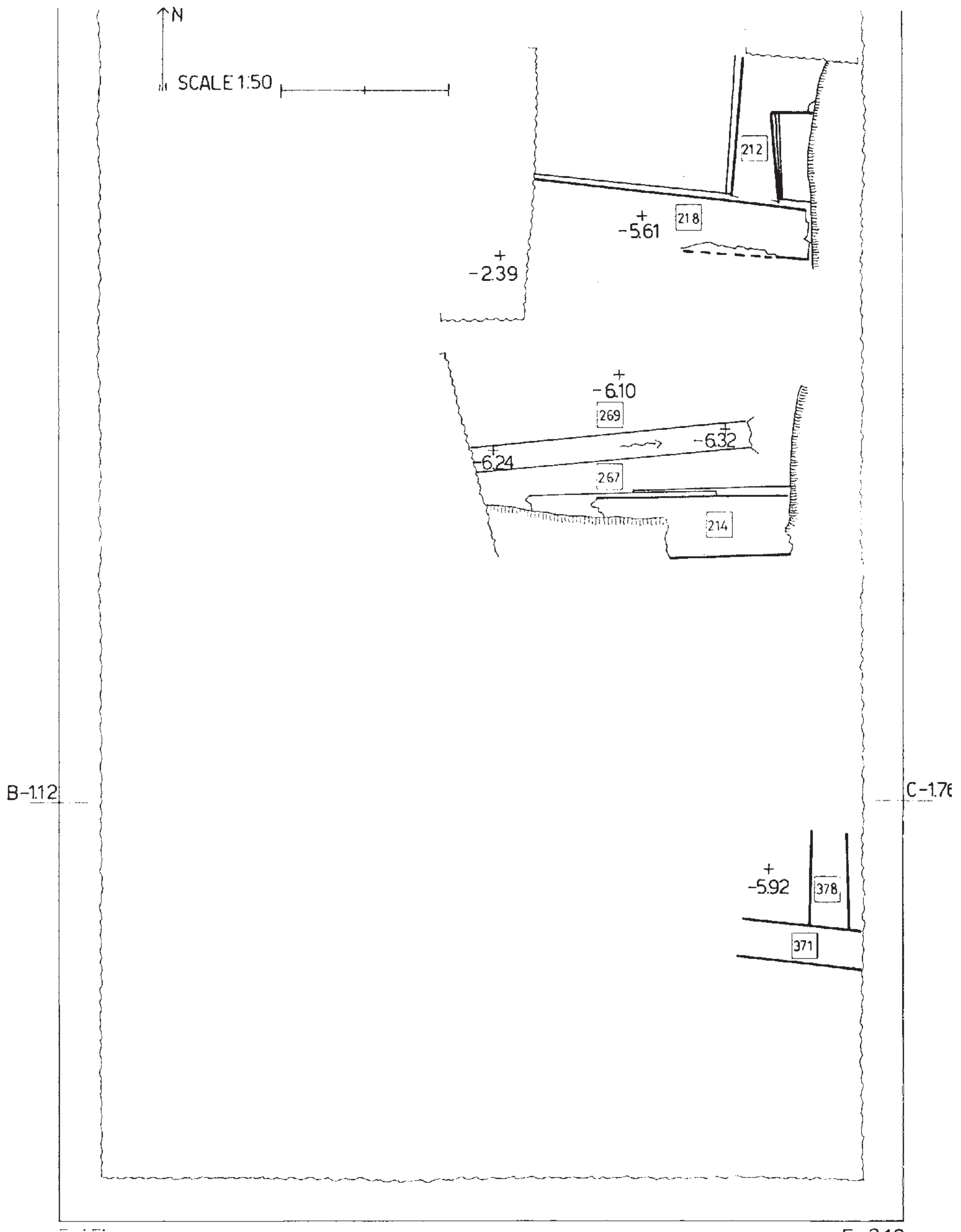


Fig. 6.24 Plan of Trench BKG 1 in Per. IV (Drawing IsIAO).

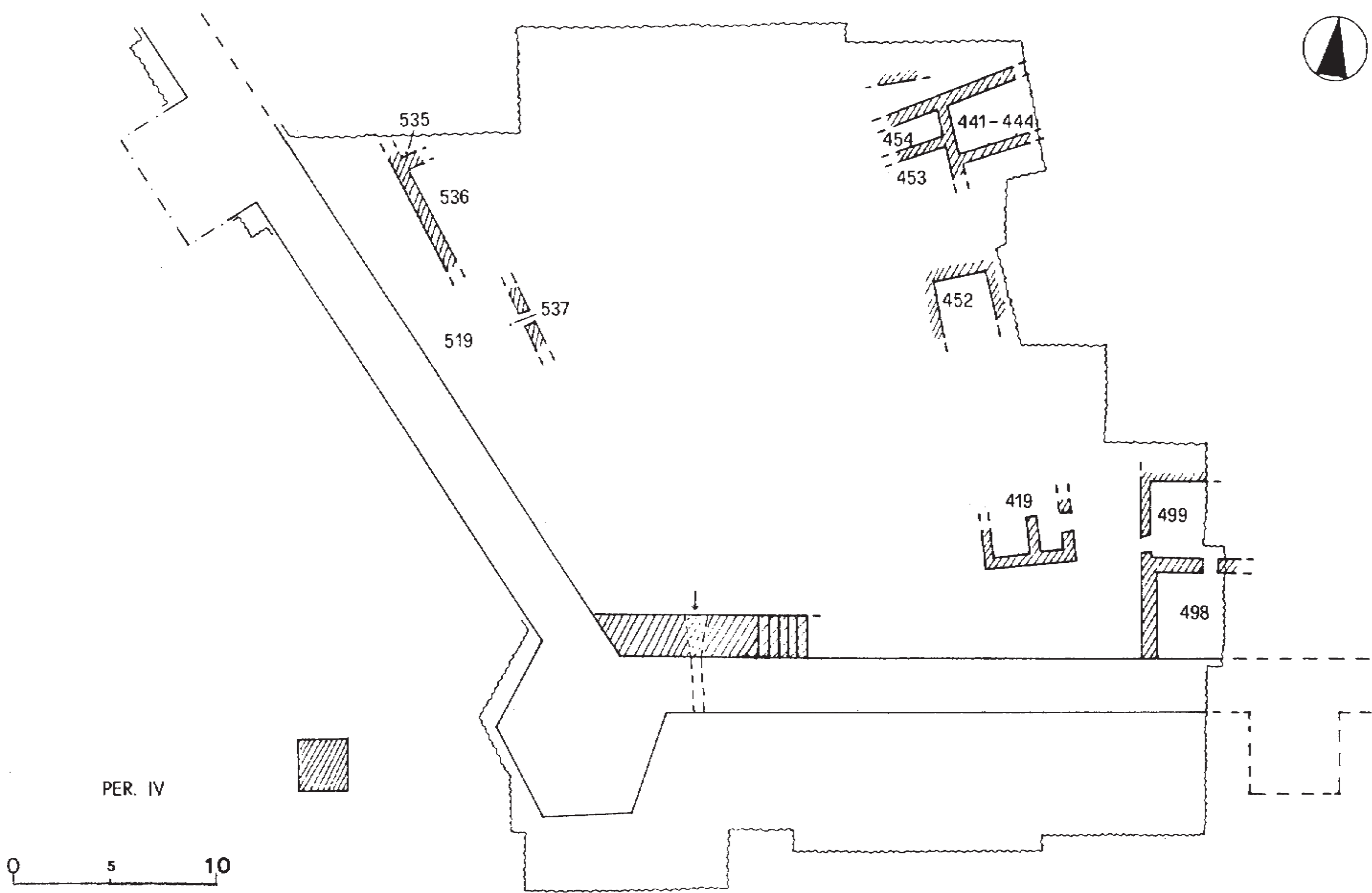


Fig. 6.25 Plan of Trench BKG 4-5 in Per. IV (Drawing IsIAO).



Fig. 6.26 The stepped foundation of the rebuilding of the tower in trench BKG 3 (Neg. IsIAO 16477/12).



Fig. 6.27 Fragment of a 'lotus bowl', red ware, inv. no. BKG 854, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:2.

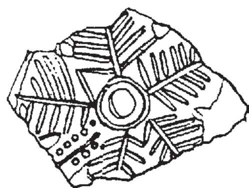


Fig. 6.28 Fragment of a 'lotus bowl', red ware, field reg. no. 1356, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:2.

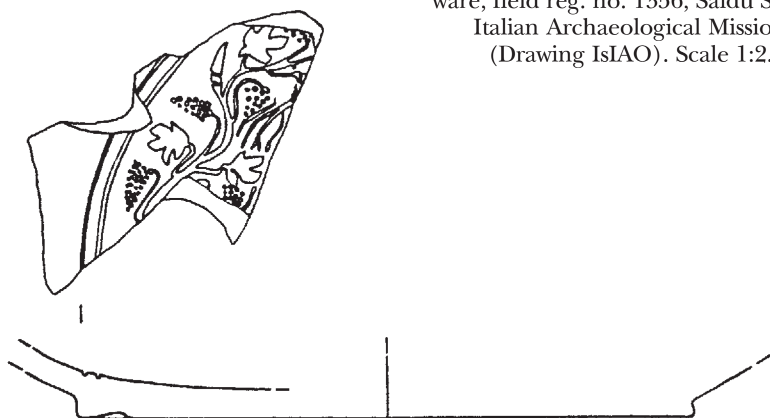


Fig. 6.29 Fragment of embossed black ware, field reg. no. 1383, Saidu Sharif, Italian Archaeological Mission (Drawing IsIAO). Scale 1:2.



Fig. 6.30 Head of a Hellenistic female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 818, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/25a). Scale 1.7:1 (h. 3.6 cm).



Fig. 6.31 A single mould female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 793, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15551/19a).

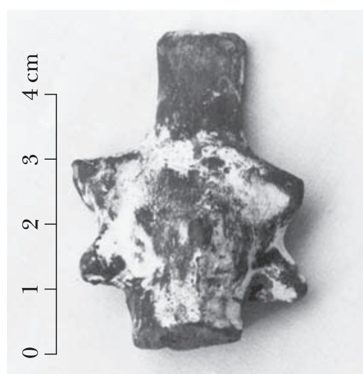


Fig. 6.32 Head of a single mould female figurine, red terracotta with white wash, inv. no. BKG 1319, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16476/18a).



Fig. 6.33 Head of a single mould female figurine, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 1329, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 16476/21a).

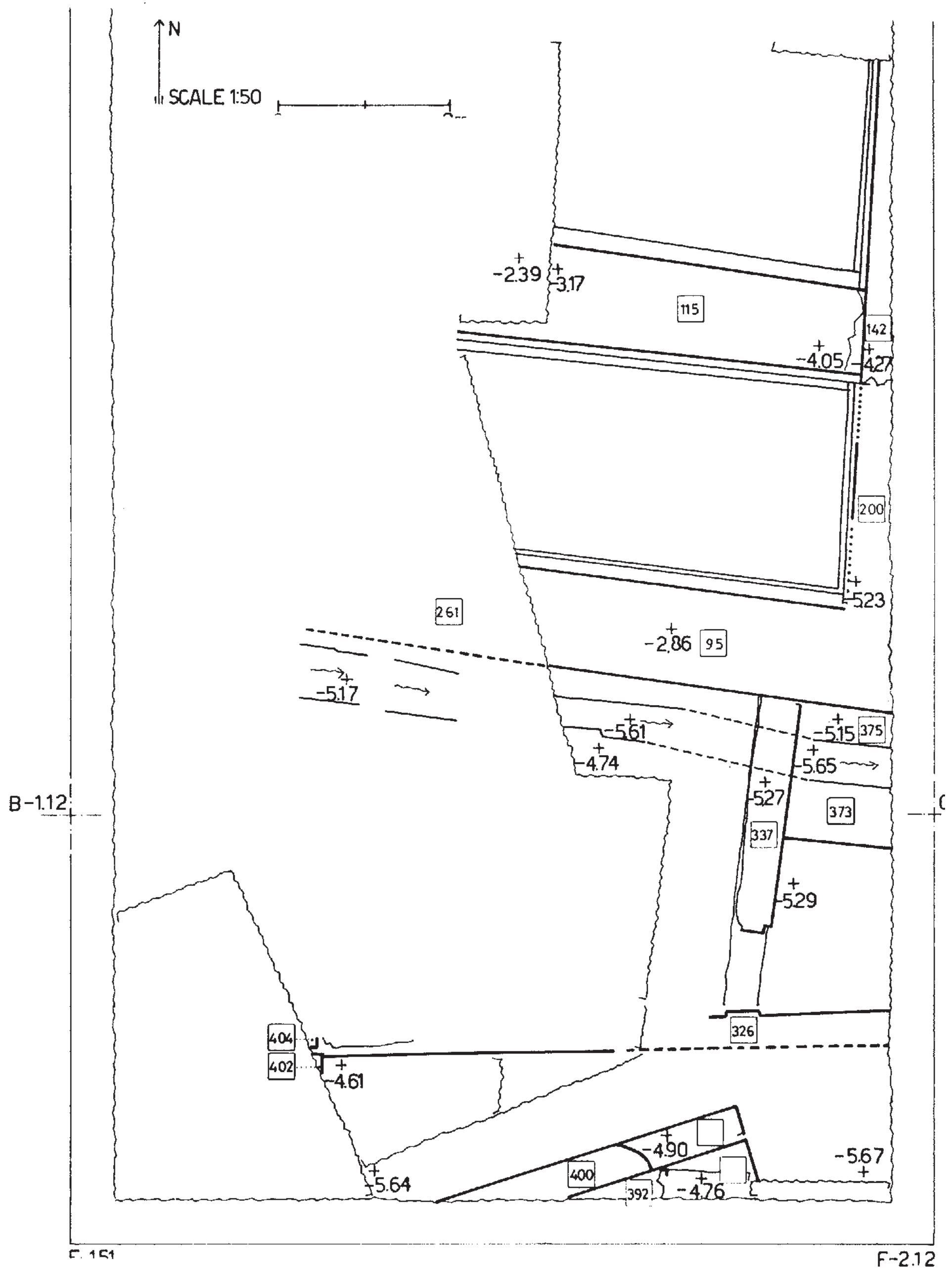


Fig. 6.34 Plan of Trench BKG 1 in Per. V (Drawing IsIAO).

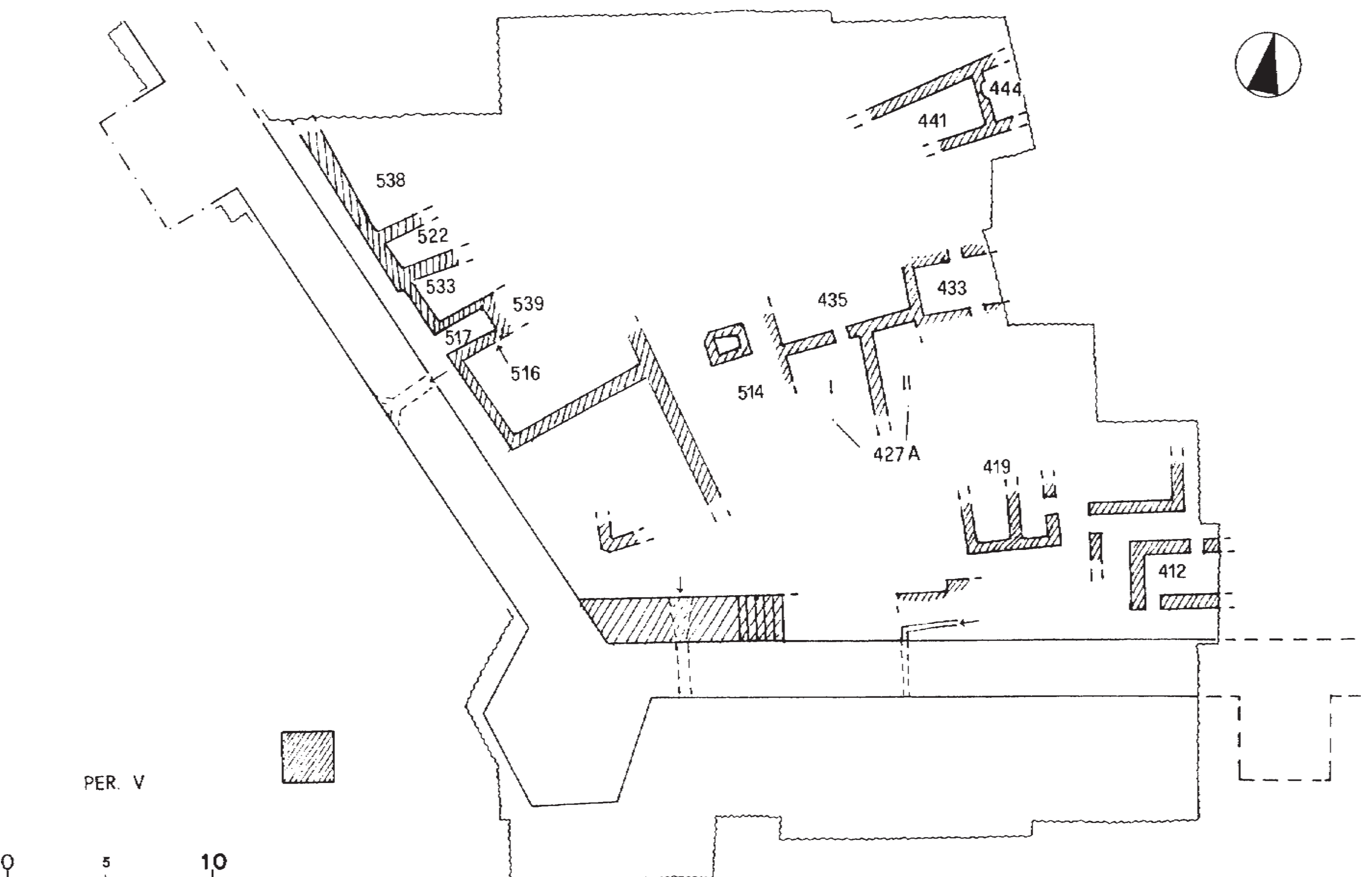


Fig. 6.35 Plan of Trench BKG 4-5 in Per. V (Drawing IsIAO).



Fig. 6.36 The massive walls in trench BKG 1 (Neg. IsIAO 15534/15a).



Fig. 6.37 The palatial building in trench BKG 3, showing the two superimposed phases (Neg. IsIAO 16460/4a).



Fig. 6.38 Potsherd with a Hellenistic *èmblema*, red ware, inv. no. BKG 1516, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 17527/20a).



Fig. 6.39 Grotesque small mask, red terracotta, inv. no. BKG 740, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15559/9a).



Fig. 6.40 Fragment of the rim of a bottle of marmorized green glass, inv. no. BKG 766, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15557/10a).



Fig. 6.41 Sealing, clay, inv. no. BKG 739, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15557/20a, 15559/0A). Scale 2:1 (h. 2 cm).



Fig. 6.42 Sealing, clay, inv. no. BKG 772, Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (Neg. IsIAO 15559/3a, 4a). Scale 1.9:1 (h. 2.9 cm).

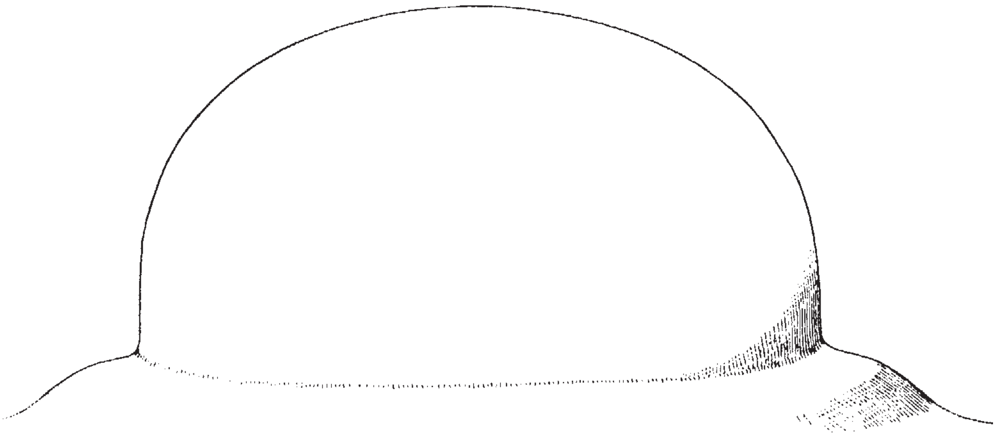


Fig. 7.1 Butkara I. G St.1 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 6).

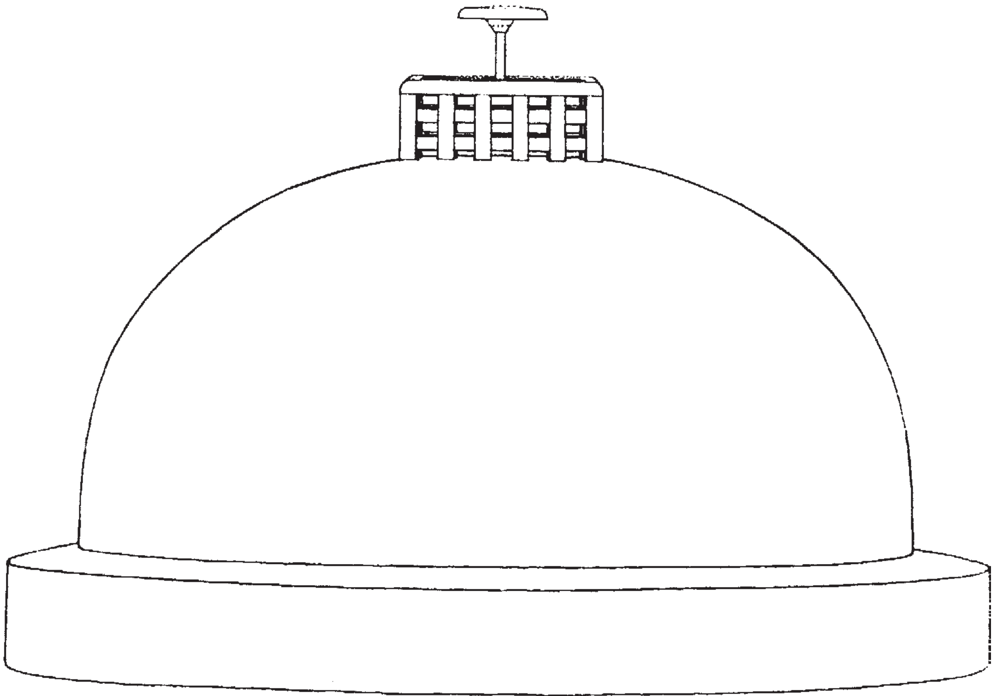


Fig. 7.2 Butkara I. G St.2 with floor F5 (after *Butkara* I, fig. 16).

Fig. 7.3 Butkara I. G St.2 with the second projection of the S niche and floor F5R (after *Butkara I*, fig. 18).

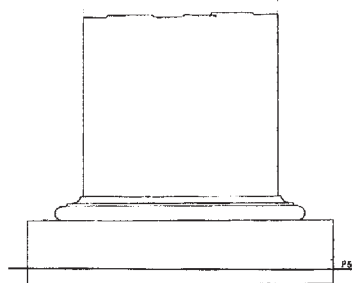


Fig. 7.4 Butkara I. Column no. 66 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 61).

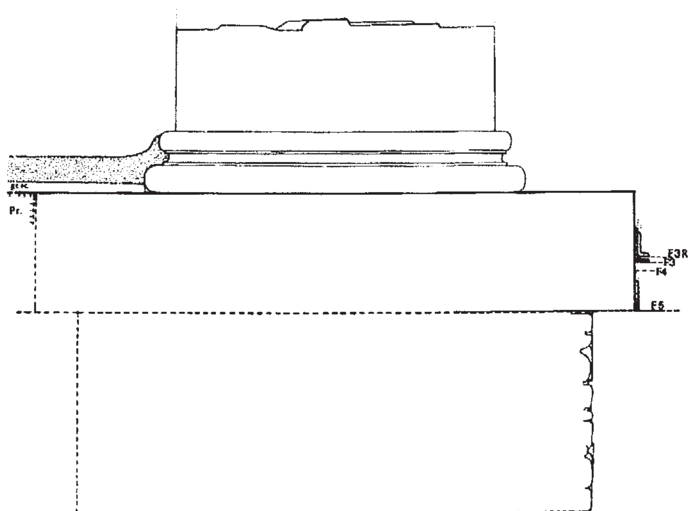


Fig. 7.5 Butkara I. Column no. 149 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 64).

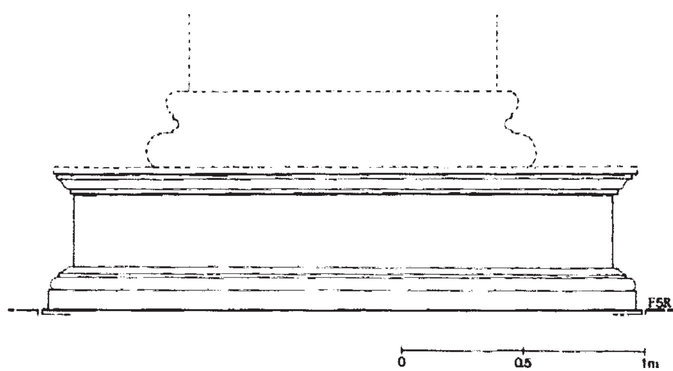


Fig. 7.6 Butkara I. Column no. 214 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 74).

Fig. 7.7 Butkara I. G St.3 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 30).

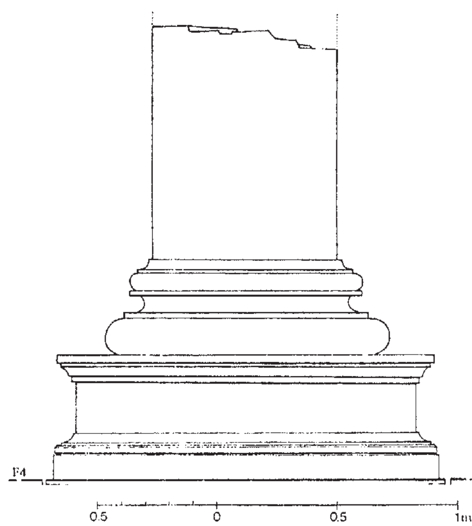


Fig. 7.8 Butkara I. Column no. 78 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 103).

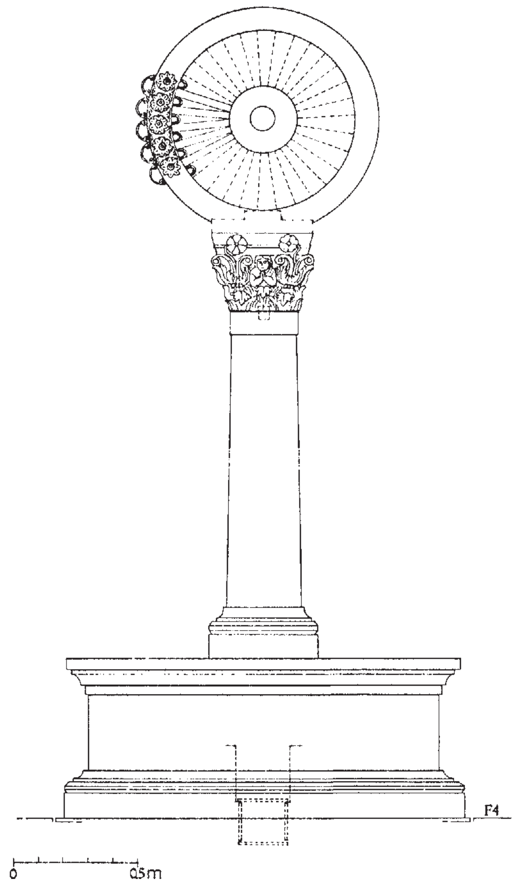


Fig. 7.9 Butkara I. Pillar no. 135 (after Faccenna 1984, fig. on p. 327).

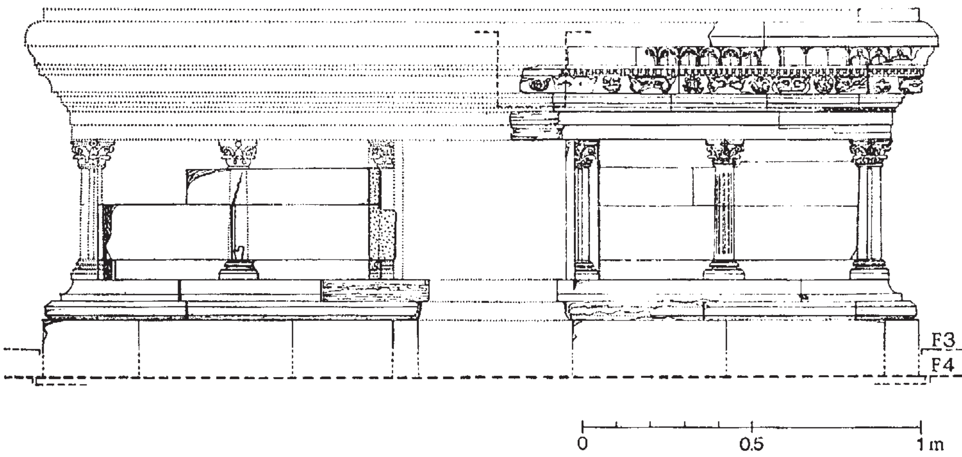


Fig. 7.10 Butkara I. *Stūpa* no. 14 (after *Butkara I*, fig. 81).



Fig. 7.11 Butkara I. *Stūpa* no. 17, second storey, S side; detail (after *Butkara I*, pl. 152c).



Fig. 7.12 Butkara I. Quadriglyph, B 3341.

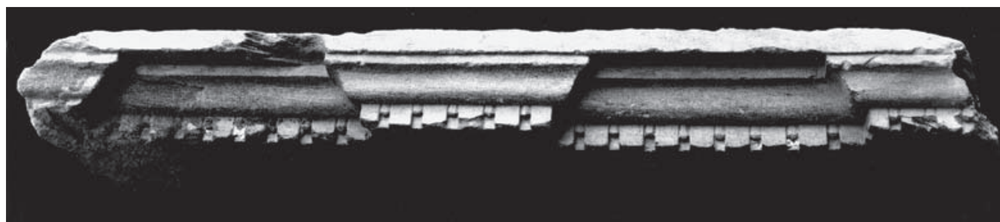


Fig. 7.13 Butkara I. *Stūpa* no. 17, second storey; Ionic cornice with dentil and bar motif, B 6056.



Fig. 7.14 Butkara I. *Stūpa* no. 17, first storey, S side; cornice (after *Butkara I*, pl. 147c).



Fig. 7.15 Sirkap. *Stūpa* in Block G; pilaster with capital.



Fig. 7.16 Butkara I. *Stūpa* no. 14, N side (after *Butkara I*, pl. 133).



Fig. 7.17 Butkara I. Cornice, B 6841.



Fig. 7.18 Butkara I. Capital, B 3744, of pillar no. 135 (after *Sculptures*, pl. DLII, a).



Fig. 7.19 Butkara I. Capital, B 3744, of pillar no. 135 (after *Sculptures*, pl. DLII, b).

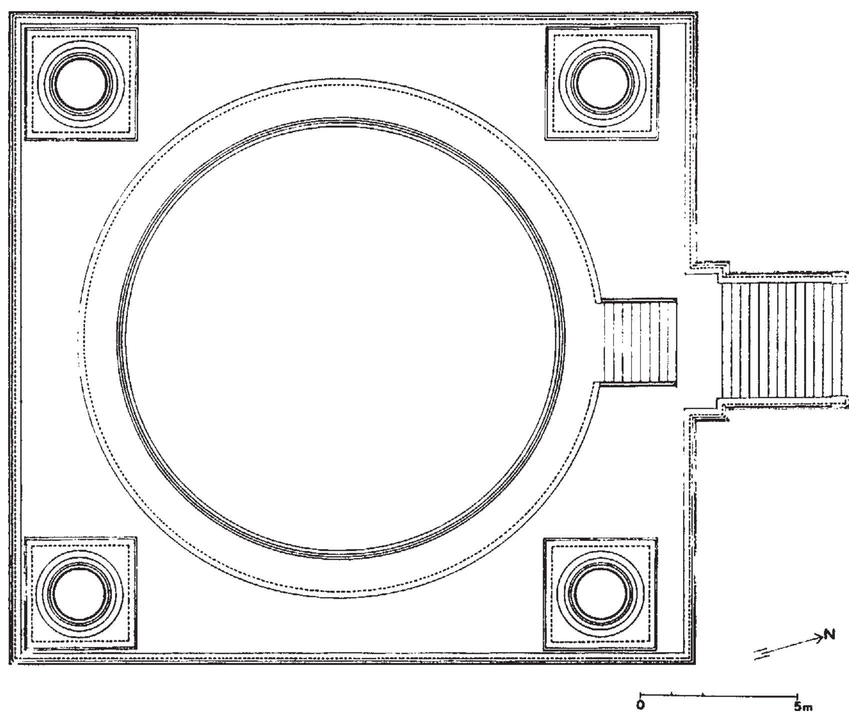


Fig. 7.20 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; schematic plan (after Faccenna 1995, fig. 244).

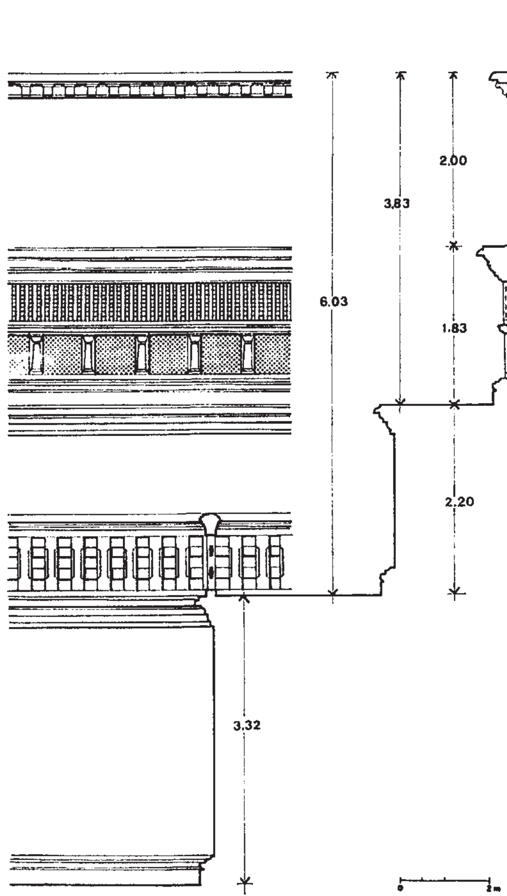


Fig. 7.21 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; graphic reconstruction, profile and front view (after Faccenna 1995, fig. 259).



Fig. 7.22 *Kline* funerary monument from Via Portuense in Rome (Rome, National Museum; after Faccenna 1949-1950, pl. I).



Fig. 7.23 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1112: the elephant sent to Siddhārtha.



Fig. 7.24 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 48: Exchange of Clothes.



Fig. 7.25 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 246: Athletic Contest with young flag-bearer.



Fig. 7.26 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1128: Athletic Contest.



Fig. 7.27 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 709: horsemen from a city gate.



Fig. 7.28 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 708: Contest over the Relics.



Fig. 7.29 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1137: musicians; flutist.



Fig. 7.30 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 622: Return of Chandaka.



Fig. 7.31 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1152: musicians; conch player.



Fig. 7.32 Saidu Sharif I. Main Stūpa; the frieze; relief, S 1124: Athletic Contest.



Fig. 7.33 Butkara I. Relief, B 2559: male figure holding a garland (after *Sculptures*, pl. CLXXXIII).

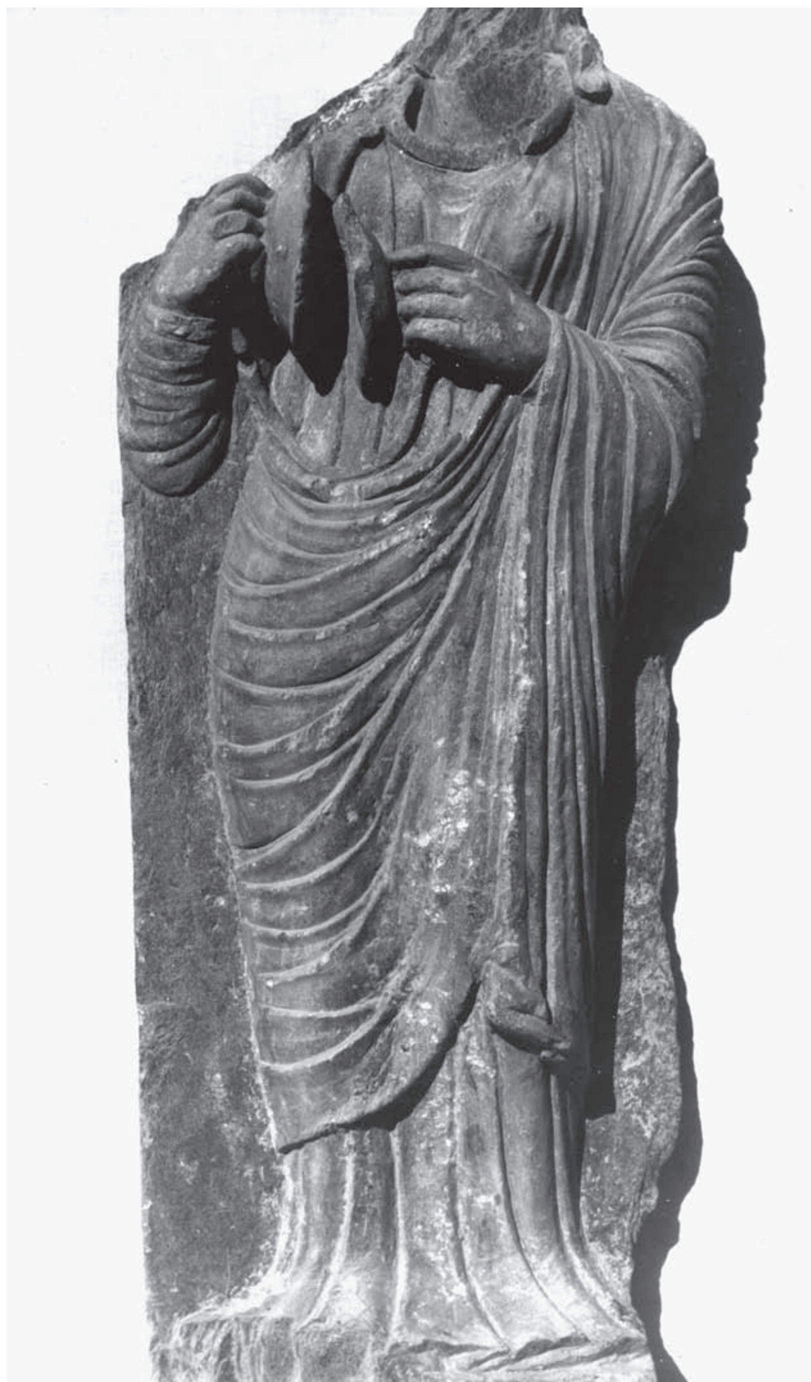


Fig. 7.34 Butkara I. Relief, B 2494: female figure playing cymbals (after *Sculptures*, pl. CXC).



Fig. 7.35 Butkara I. Relief, B 3673: two young ascetics (after *Sculptures,* pl. CXCIX).



Fig. 7.36 Butkara I. Relief, B 6694: sitting Buddha and worshippers.



Fig. 7.37 Butkara I. Relief, B 5937: dancer and musician.



Fig. 7.38 Butkara I. Relief, B 1690: Siddhārtha Rides to School (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXXXIV).



Fig. 7.39 Butkara I. Relief, B 2524: Descent from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXXXIII).



Fig. 7.40 Butkara I. Relief, B 1545: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXVI).



Fig. 7.41 Butkara I. Relief, B 2147: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after *Sculptures*, pl. CCXIa).



Fig. 7.42 Butkara I. Relief, B 6461: sitting Buddha and worshippers (after Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981, fig. 10).



Fig. 7.43 Butkara I. Relief, B 655: standing Buddha and worshippers (after *Butkara I*, pl. 79a).

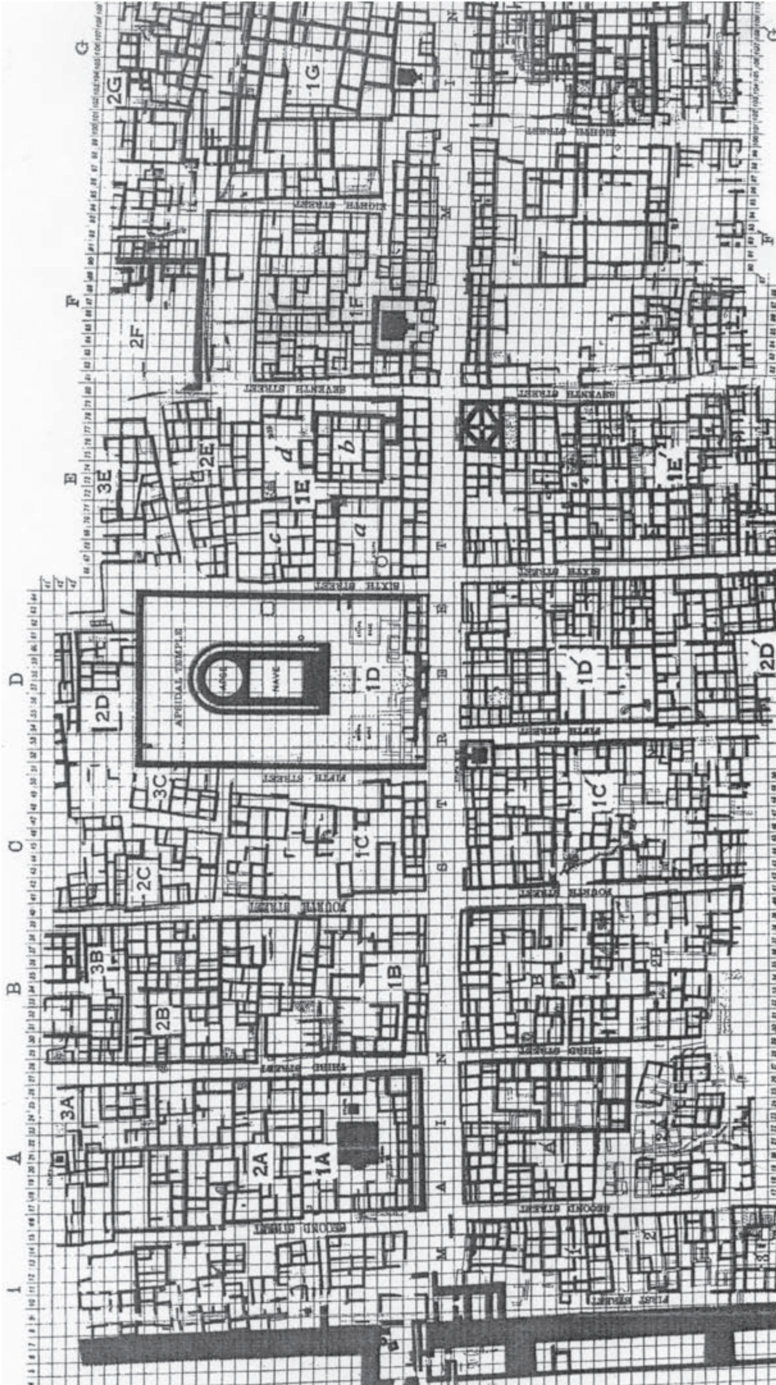


Fig. 8.1 Plan of Stratum II, Sirkap. After Marshall 1951.



Fig. 8.2 Stucco heads from the Apsidal Temple (Sirkap). After *ASIAR 1912-13*.

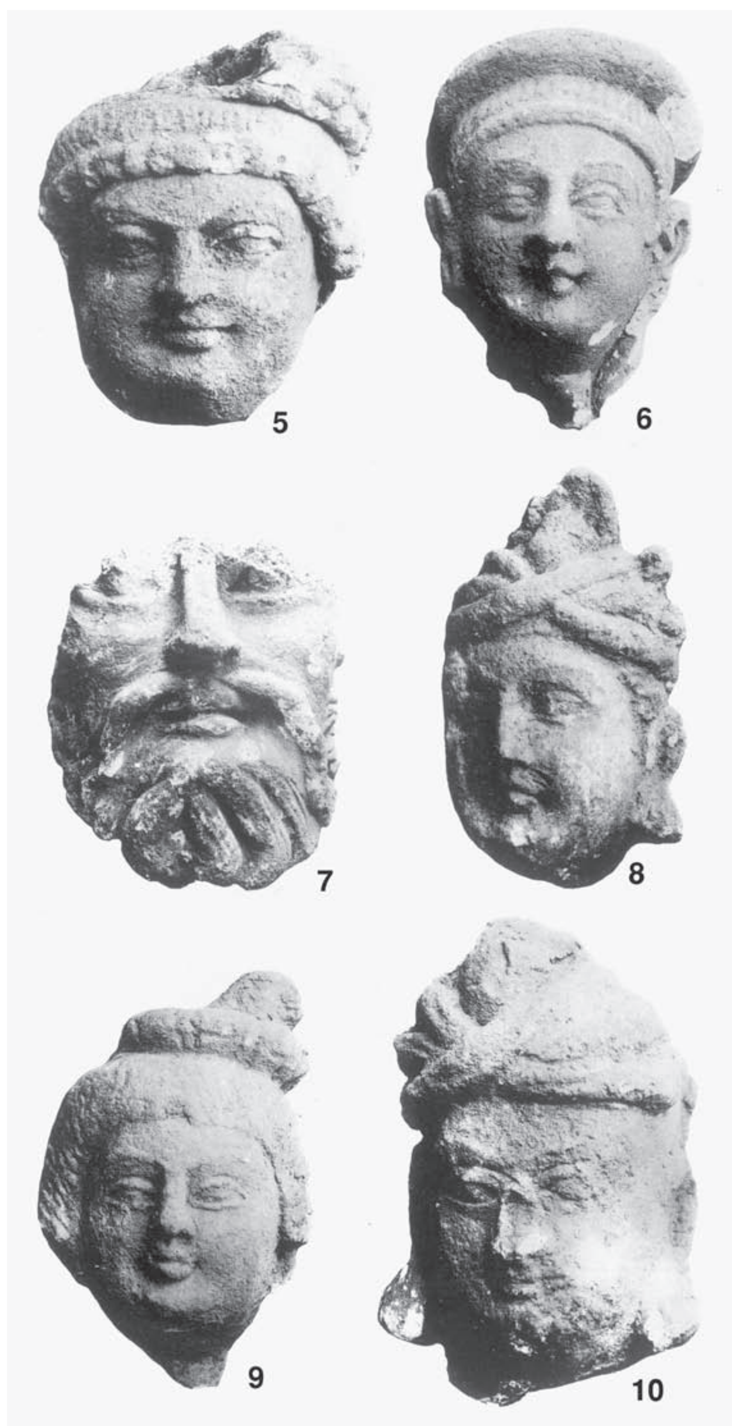


Fig. 8.3 Stucco heads from the Apsidal Temple (Sirkap).
After *ASIAR 1912-13*.

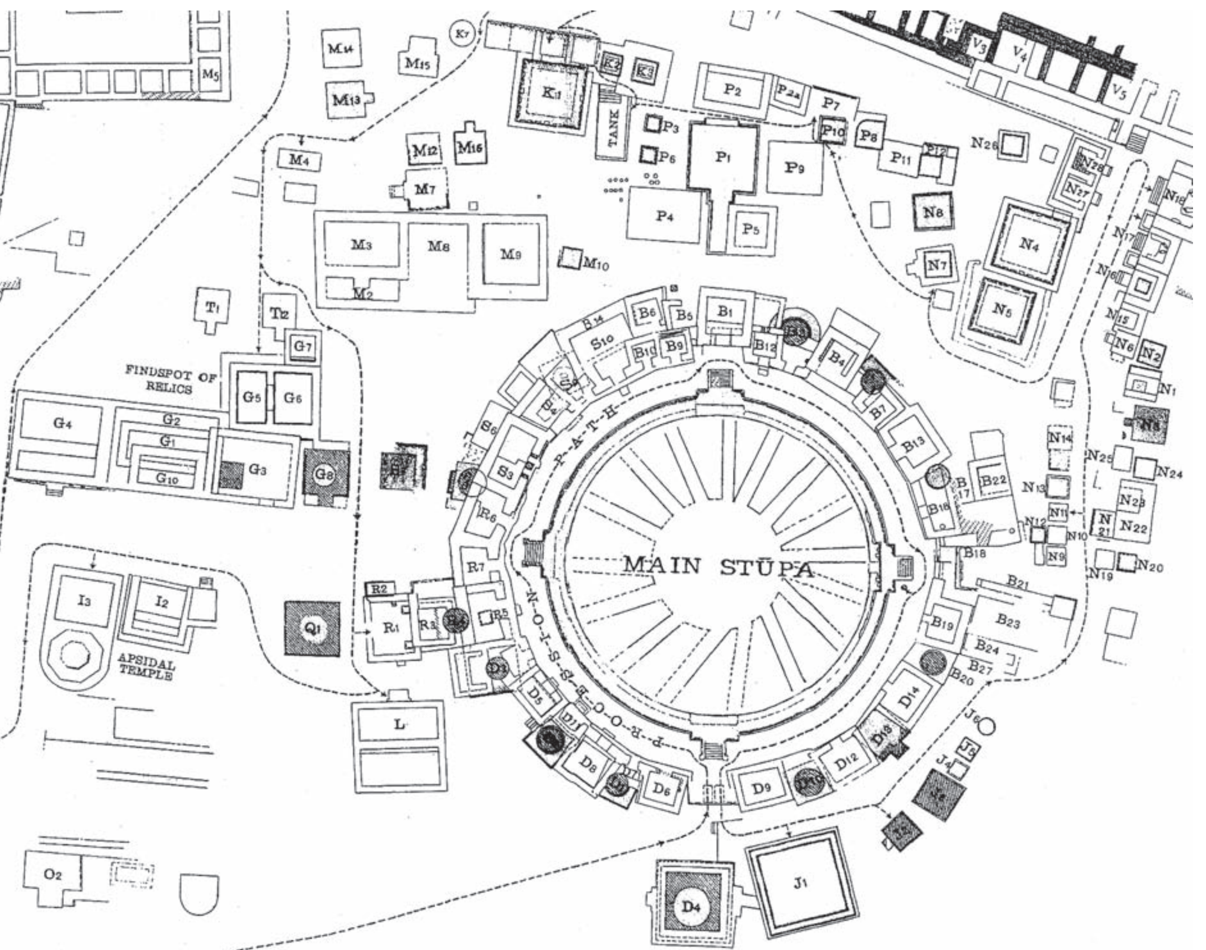


Fig. 8.4 Plan of the Dharmarājikā stūpa court. After Marshall (1951).



Fig. 8.5 Masonries at the Dharmarājikā: stūpa D2 and shrine D5 (left). Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9601-5.



Fig. 8.6 Masonries at the Dharmarājikā: stūpa P1. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9604-30.

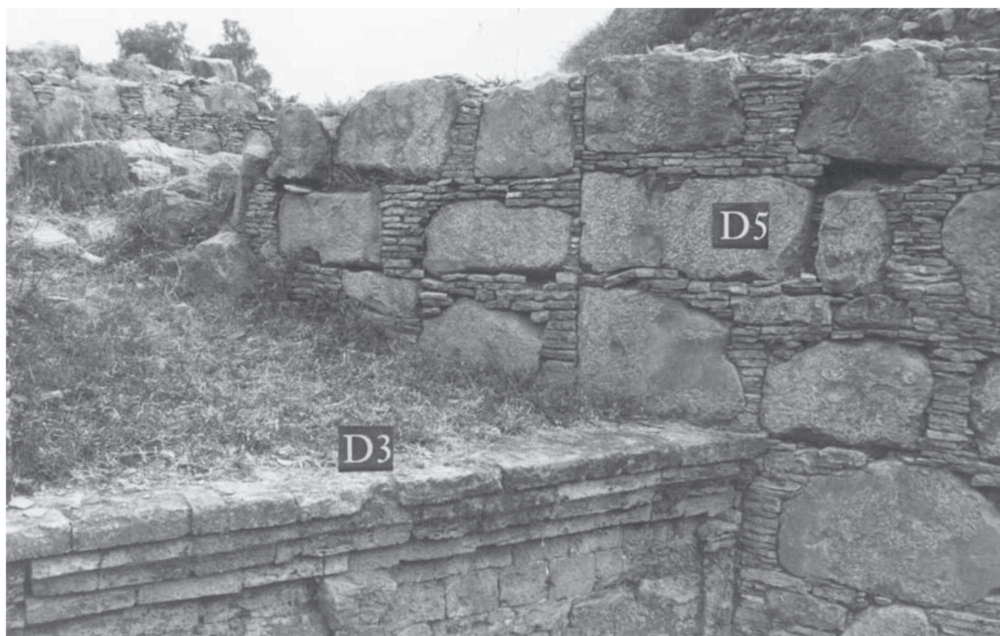


Fig. 8.7 Masonries at the Dharmarājikā: podium D3 and shrine D5 (right). Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9601-7.



Fig. 8.8 Masonries at the Dharmarājikā: shrine B9. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9601-4.



Fig. 8.9 Diaper masonry: inner face of the circular room, Apsidal Temple. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9402-1.



Fig. 8.10 Diaper masonry: on the east face of the square podium, Stūpa 1E'. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9402-10.



Fig. 8.11 Stūpas in Block 1A: northeast corner of the main stūpa. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9404-10.



Fig. 8.12 Stūpas in Block 1A: one of the subsidiary stūpas. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 3-12.

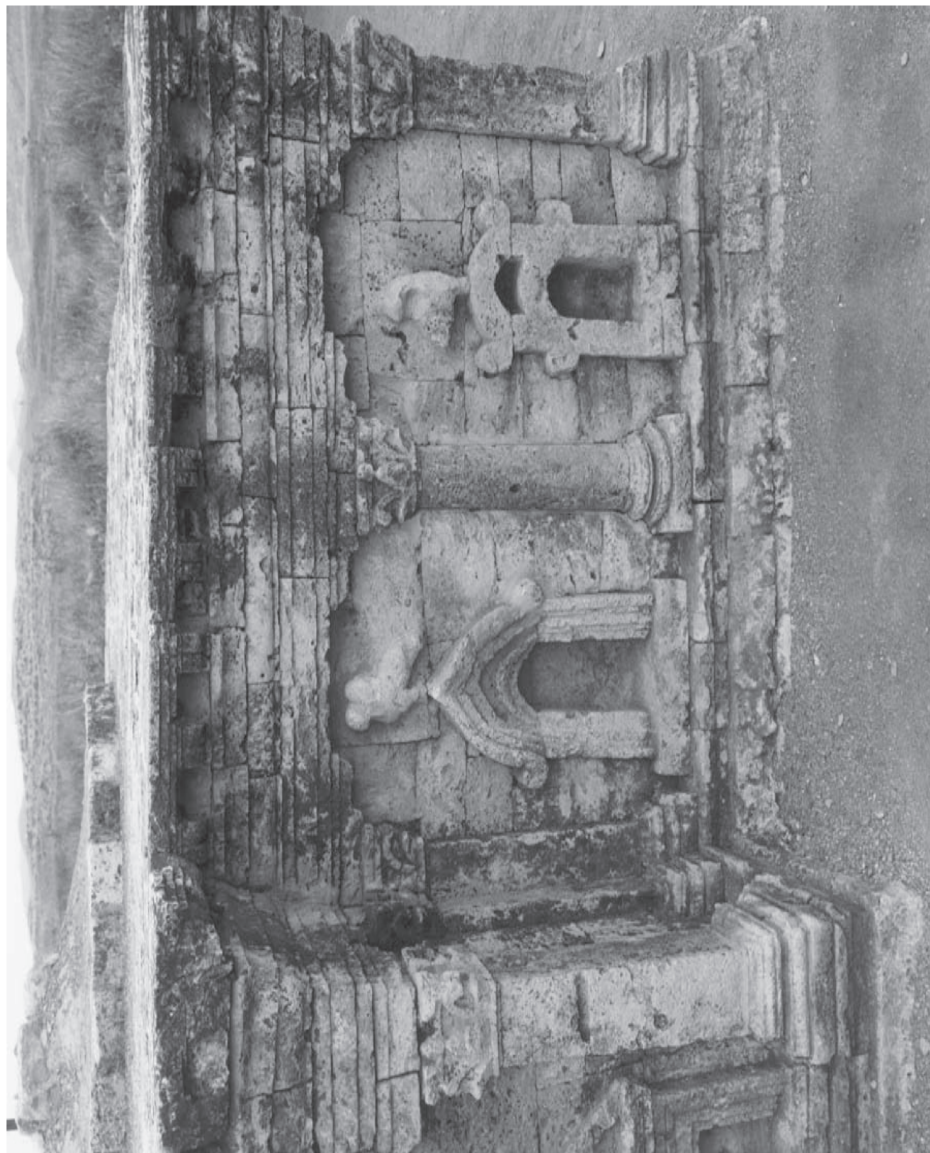


Fig. 8.13 *Kanjūr* facing, Sirkap: stūpa 1F. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9403-6.



Fig. 8.14 *Kanjūr* facing, Sirkap: stūpa 1G. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. 9403-8.



Fig. 8.15 The square foundation below the drum, Dharmarājikā stūpa D2. Photo: Kuwayama, Neg. No. 16-1.



Fig. 9.1



Fig. 9.2



Fig. 9.3



Fig. 9.4



Fig. 9.5



Fig. 9.6



Fig. 9.7



Fig. 9.8



Fig. 9.9



Fig. 9.10



Fig. 9.11



Fig. 9.12



Fig. 9.13



Fig. 9.14



Fig. 9.15



Fig. 9.16



Fig. 9.17



Fig. 9.18



Fig. 9.19



Fig. 9.20



Fig. 9.21



Fig. 9.22



Fig. 9.23

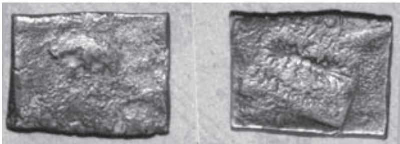


Fig. 9.24



Fig. 9.25



Fig. 9.26



Fig. 9.27



Fig. 9.28



Fig. 9.29



Fig. 9.30



Fig. 9.31



Fig. 9.32



Fig. 9.33



Fig. 9.34



Fig. 9.35



Fig. 9.36



Fig. 9.37



Fig. 9.38



Fig. 9.39



Fig. 9.40



Fig. 9.41


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Fig. 9.51


Fig. 9.52



Fig. 9.53



Fig. 9.54



Fig. 9.55



Fig. 9.56



Fig. 9.57



Fig. 9.58



Fig. 9.59



Fig. 9.60



Fig. 9.61



Fig. 9.62



Fig. 9.63


Fig. 9.64


Fig. 9.65


Fig. 9.66


Fig. 9.67


Fig. 9.68


Fig. 9.69


Fig. 9.70


Fig. 9.71


Fig. 9.72


Fig. 9.73



Fig. 9.74



Fig. 9.75



Fig. 9.76



Fig. 9.77



Fig. 9.78



Fig. 9.79



Fig. 9.80



Fig. 9.81



Fig. 9.82



Fig. 10.1 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation. Present location of object: Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum; accession number: [not known]; height: 98.5 cm; date: 1st–2nd century A.D.?; provenance: possibly Bajaur; source of photo: Institute of Silk Road Studies, *Budda no shōgai to gandāra o meguru hitobito: Hirayama Ikuo korekushon/The Gandhāran Buddhist Sculpture and the Peoples of the Silk Road: The Hirayama Ikuo Collection* [exh. cat., Institute of Silk Road Studies] (Tokyo 2003), 69 (fig. 101).



Fig. 10.2 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; the inscription on the halo. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.



Fig. 10.3 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; detail of the right side of the inscription. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.

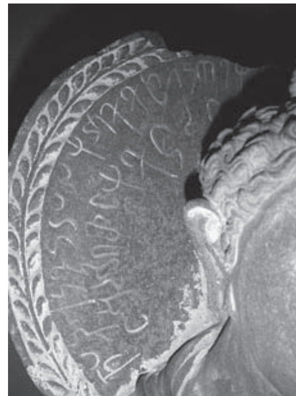


Fig. 10.4 The "Aśo-raya" Buddha; detail of the left side of the inscription. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation.



Fig. 12.1 General view of the Sonkh mound, looking south

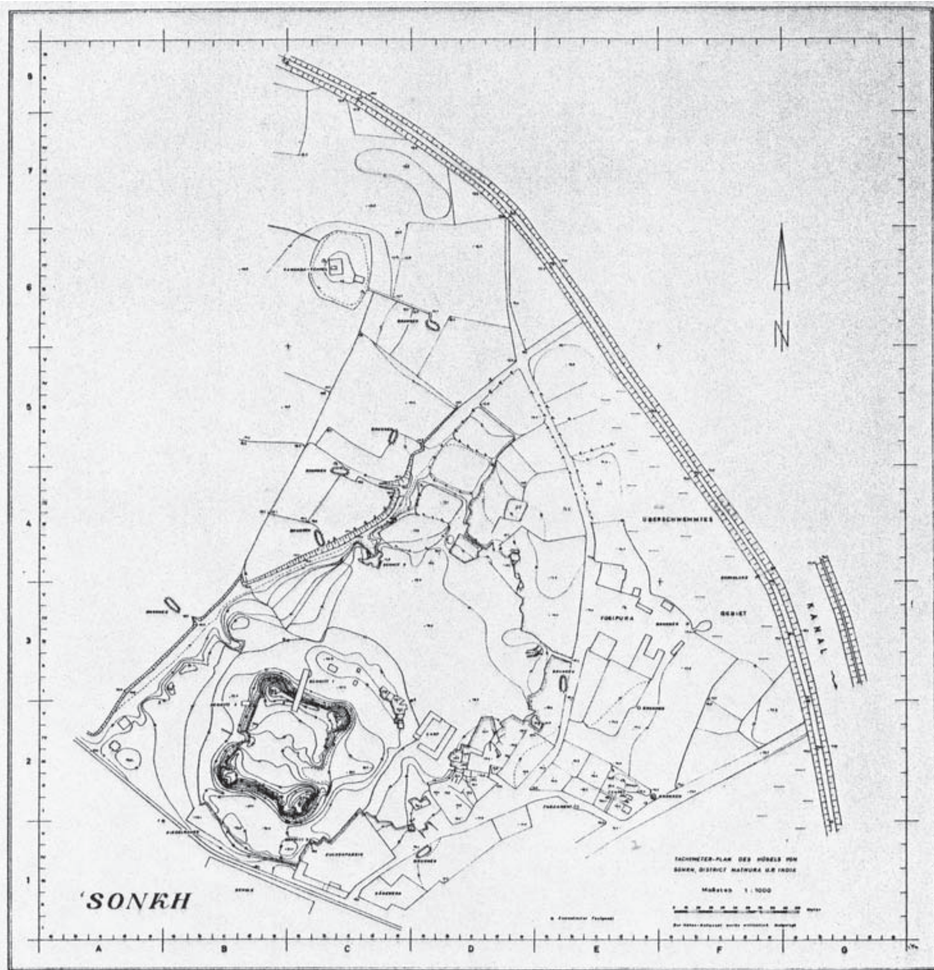


Fig. 12.2 Tachymeter map of the Sonkh mound

1 - 15	Third to nineteenth century AD.
16	Vasudeva - Kanishka III
17	
18	Huvishka
19	
20	Kanishka I
21	
22	Wima Kadphises, Kanishka I
23 24	Kshatrapas + Ramadatta
25	Vishnumitra
26	Brahmamitra
27	Suryamitra
28	Gomitra
29 30 31 32	Shunga Cultural Phase
33 - 36	Mauryas
37 - 40	Painted Grey Ware Black and Red Ware

Fig. 12.3 Synopsis of the succession of levels in the mound



Fig. 12.4 Coins of Gomitra (l.) and Sûryamitra



Fig. 12.5 Section of the Sūryamitra Level 27



A



B

Fig. 12.6 Two Mitra terracotta plaques



Fig. 12.7 Seal and Seal impressions, Mitra levels.



Fig. 12.8 Terracotta amulet in shape of a hand, with symbols on the palm. Mitra Level 27

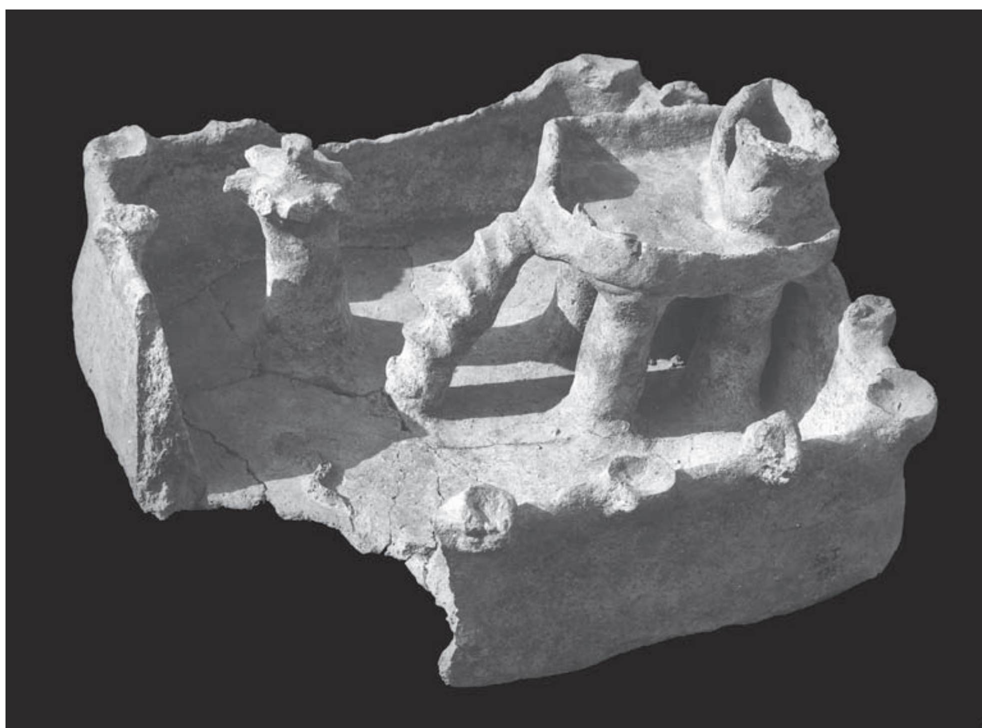


Fig. 12.9 Votive tank with temple on heightened platform. Mitra Level 25



Fig. 12.10 Modern temple on the island, the place of Apsidal Temple no.2



Fig. 12.11 Structural remains of phases 1 and 2 of the Apsidal Temple no.2



Fig. 12.12 Kṣatrapa Level 23, southwestern corner of block C, with corner stone



Fig. 12.13 Coins of Hagāmaṣa, Rāmadatta and Ṣoḍāsa

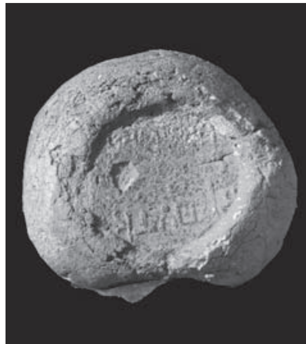


Fig. 12.14 Seal impression *anaṅgabala* in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī



Fig. 12.15 Votive tank with the remaining four of originally seven or eight Mother Goddess figures



Fig. 12.16 Mother Goddess figure with child. Terracotta. Late Kṣatrapa



Fig. 12.17 Typical terracotta face of Kṣatrapa period



Fig. 12.18 Warrior Goddess of early Kṣatrapa period. Terracotta



Fig. 12.19 Warrior Goddess of late Kṣatrapa period. Terracotta



Fig. 12.20 Residential blocks, Kuṣāṇa period



Fig. 12.21 Coins of Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka I from early Kuṣāṇa level



Fig. 12.22 Apsidal Temple no. 1 from east



Fig. 12.23 Seated Mother Goddess, stone, found in Apsidal Temple no. 1



Fig. 12.24 Early Kuṣāṇa terracotta figure of Kubera



Fig. 12.25 Hollow terracotta rattle of early Kuṣāṇa period with moulded figures in sophisticated style



Fig. 12.26 Fragment of six-armed Warrior Goddess, terracotta, Kuṣāṇa period



Fig. 12.27 Late Kuṣāṇa terracotta plaque depicting the Warrior Goddess, now holding a weapon



Fig. 12.28 Fragment of Vāsudeva stone plaque, Kuṣāṇa period



Fig. 12.29 Kuṣāṇa Bronze figure of Skanda



Fig. 12.30 Kuṣāṇa Bronze couple depicting presumably Skanda and Ṣaṣṭhī

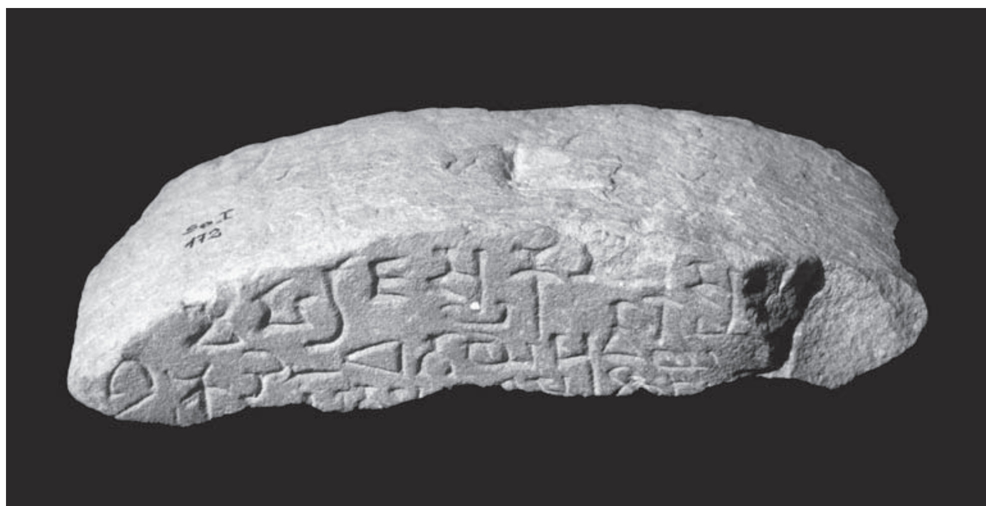


Fig. 12.31 Fragment of crossbar with Kaniṣka I inscription

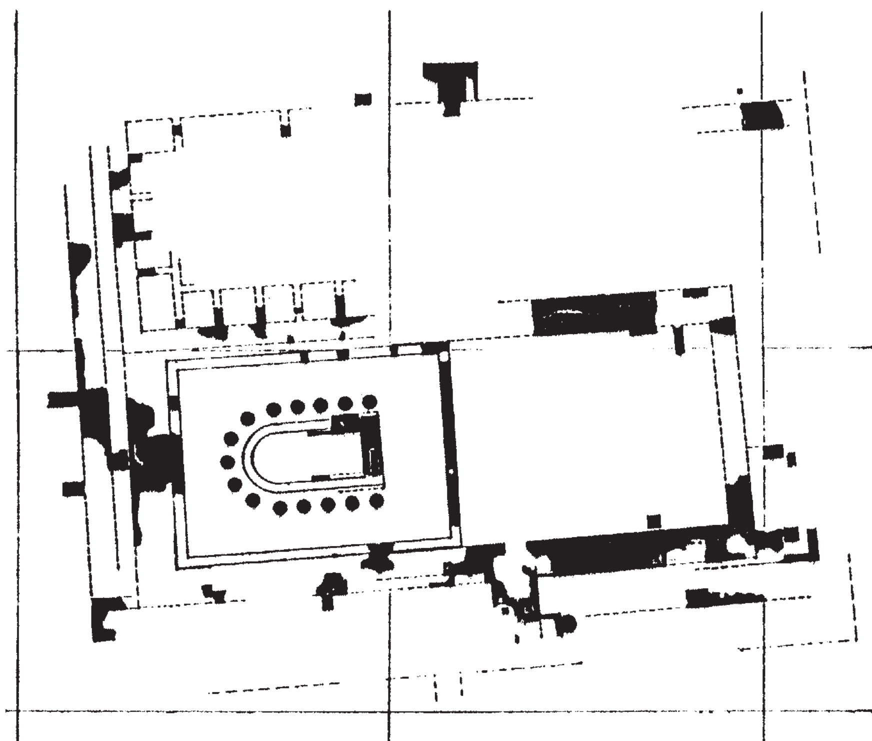


Fig. 12.32 Apsidal Temple no. 2 , Kuṣāṇa phase

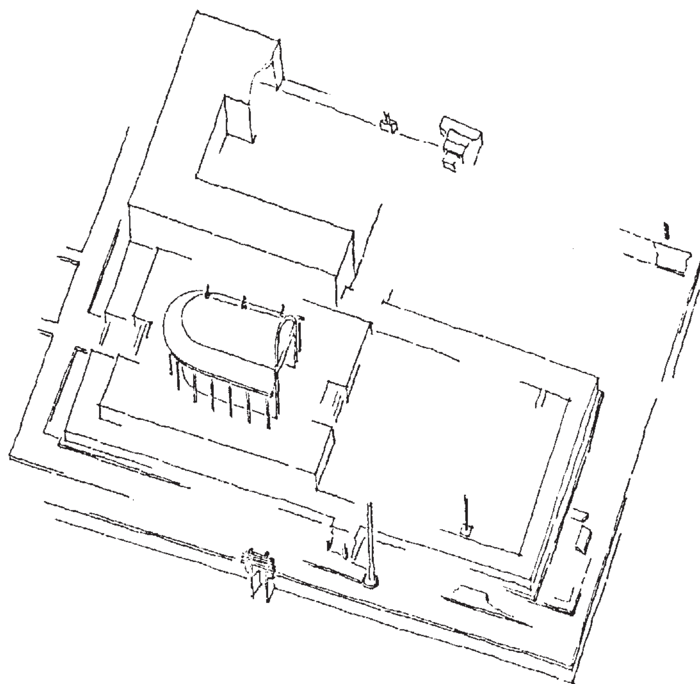


Fig. 12.33 Conjectural reconstruction of the temple site



Fig. 12.34 Bottom lintel of the southern gate toraṇa with Nāga scene



Fig. 12.35 Śālabhañjikā, bracket figure of the southern gate toraṇa



Fig. 12.36 Pillar of the stone railing, with Nāga medallion



Fig. 12.37 Nāga stone figure, upper part animal, lower part human



Fig. 12.38 Clay object with impressed Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī lines, mentioning *ahikośika*



Fig. 12.39 Part of a tympanum, with the relief of a Nāga climbing a rock



Fig. 12.40 Kuṣāṇa Nāgarāja sculpture housed in the modern temple on the island



Fig. 13.1 Nāginī from Nandan, U.P. 1st century A.D. National Museum, New Delhi (Acc. No. Safe Custody Object). Photograph courtesy National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 13.2 Nāginī from Nandan, U.P. 1st century A.D. Tokyo Private Collection. Photograph courtesy Katolec Corporation Collection.



Fig. 13.3 Nāginī from Nandan, U.P. 1st century A.D. The Nelson- Atkins Museum of Art (Acc. No. 79–21). Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



Fig. 13.4 Reverse of Fig. 13.1, National Museum Nāginī. Photograph courtesy National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 13.5 Reverse. Close-up of Snakehood of Fig. 13.1. Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



Fig. 13.6 Reverse of Fig. 13.3, the Kansas City Nāginī. Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.



Fig. 13.7 Reverse. Close-up of Snakehood of Fig. 13.3. Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



Fig. 13.8 Reverse. Close-up of Snakehood of Fig. 13.2. Photograph courtesy Katolec Corporation Collection.



Fig. 13.9 Reverse of Fig. 13.2, the Tokyo Nāginī. Photograph courtesy Katolec Corporation Collection.



Fig. 13.10 Fig. 13.2, the Tokyo Nāginī prior to cleaning. Photograph courtesy Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.



Fig. 13.11 Red Sandstone Fragment of Nāginī's Feet. *In situ* at Nandan. Photograph by John Twilley.

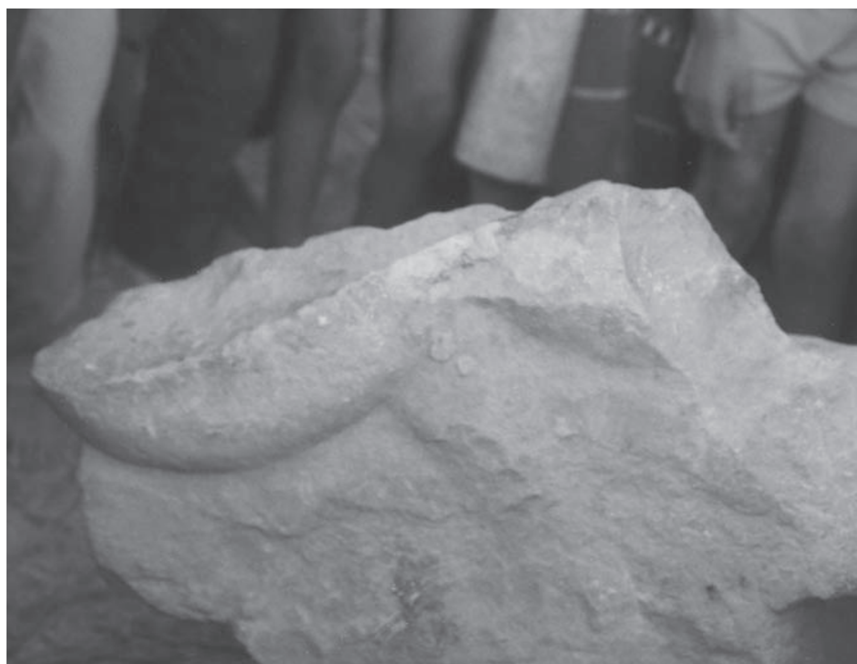


Fig. 13.12 Reverse of Fig. 13.11. Author's Photograph.



Fig. 13.13 Side View of Fig. 13.11. Photograph by John Twilley.



Fig. 13.14 Close-up of Feet in Fig. 13.11. Author's Photograph.

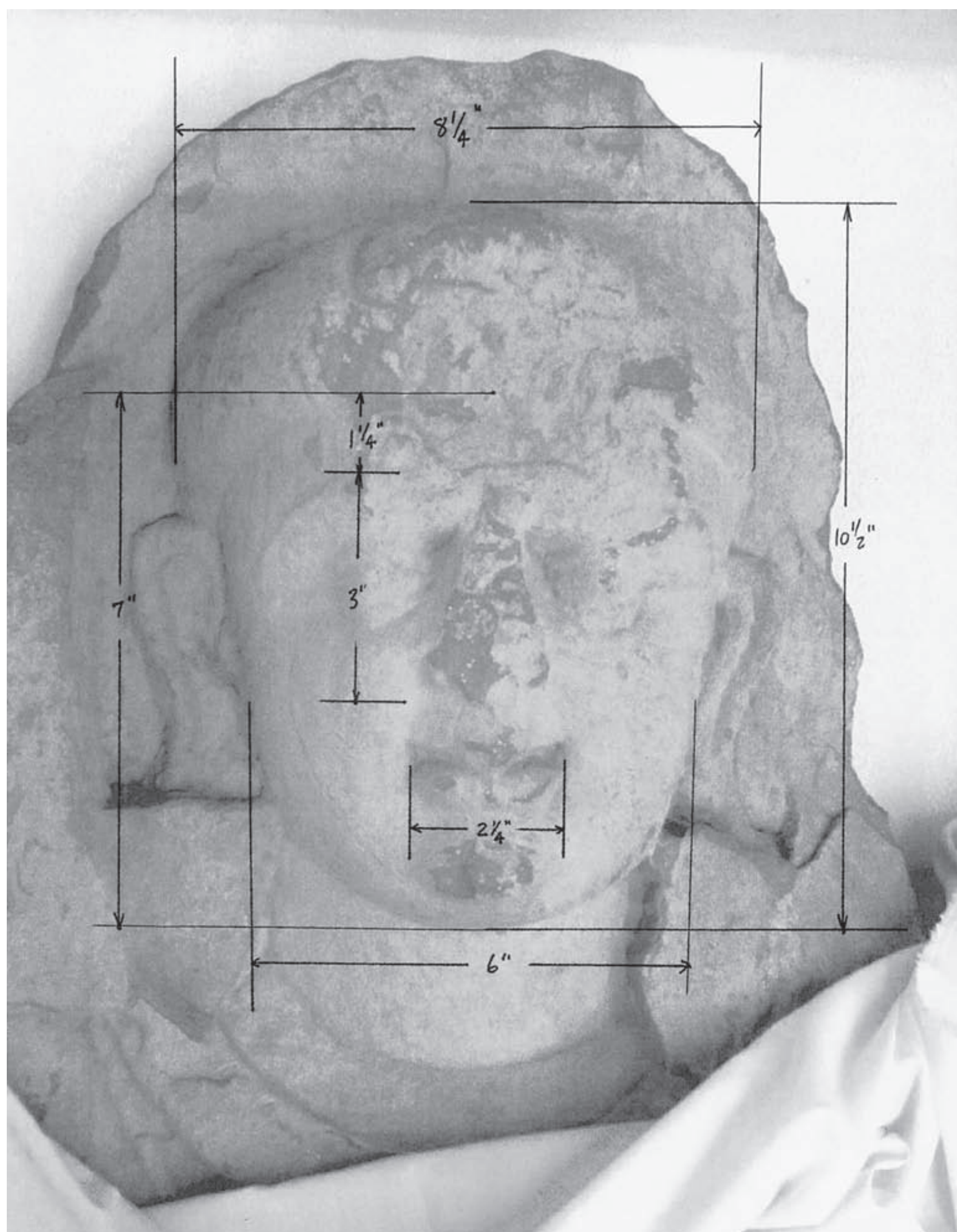


Fig. 13.15 Face of the National Museum Nāginī, Fig. 13.1, with measurements. Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

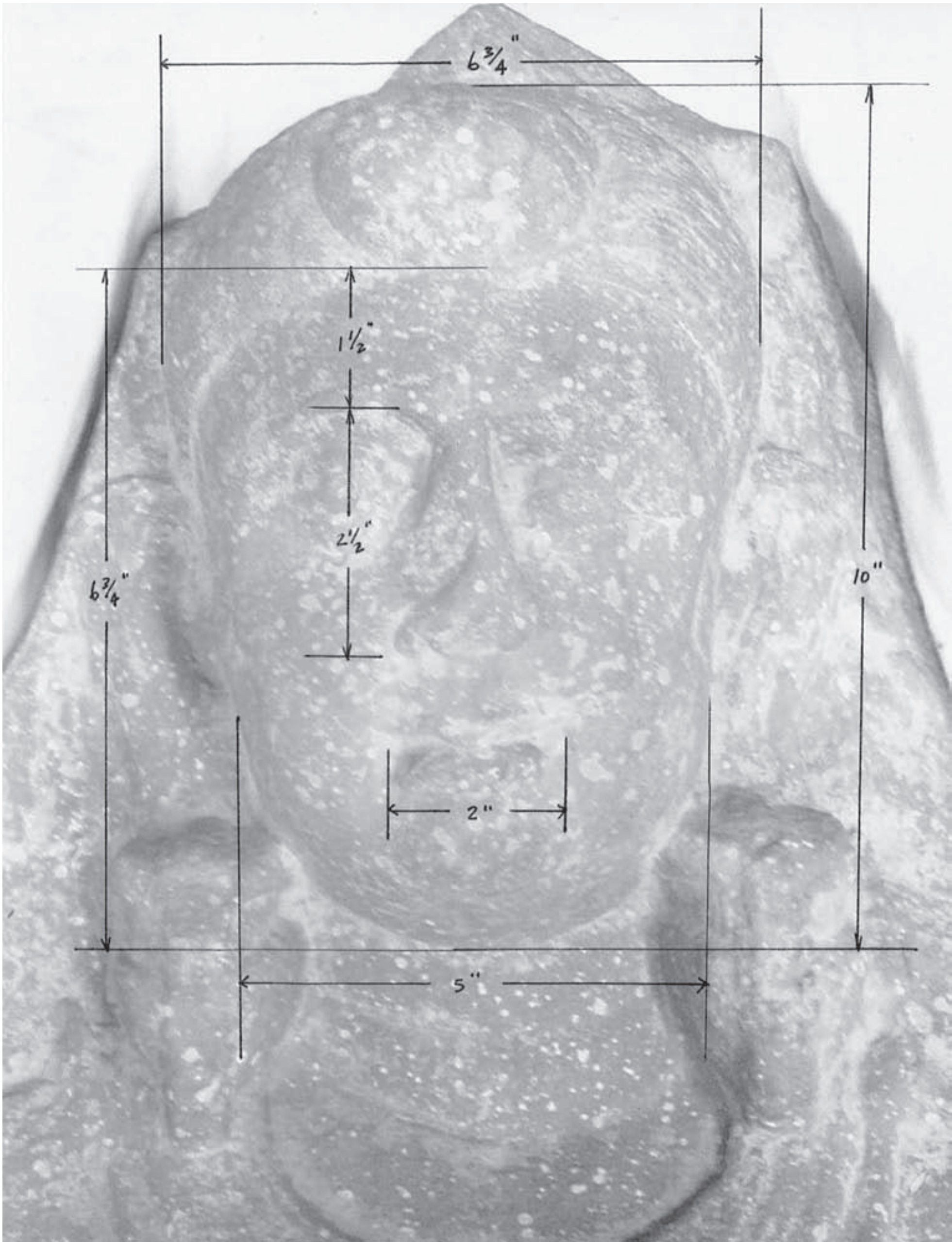


Fig. 13.16 Face of the Tokyo Nāginī, Fig. 13.2, with measurements. Photograph courtesy of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

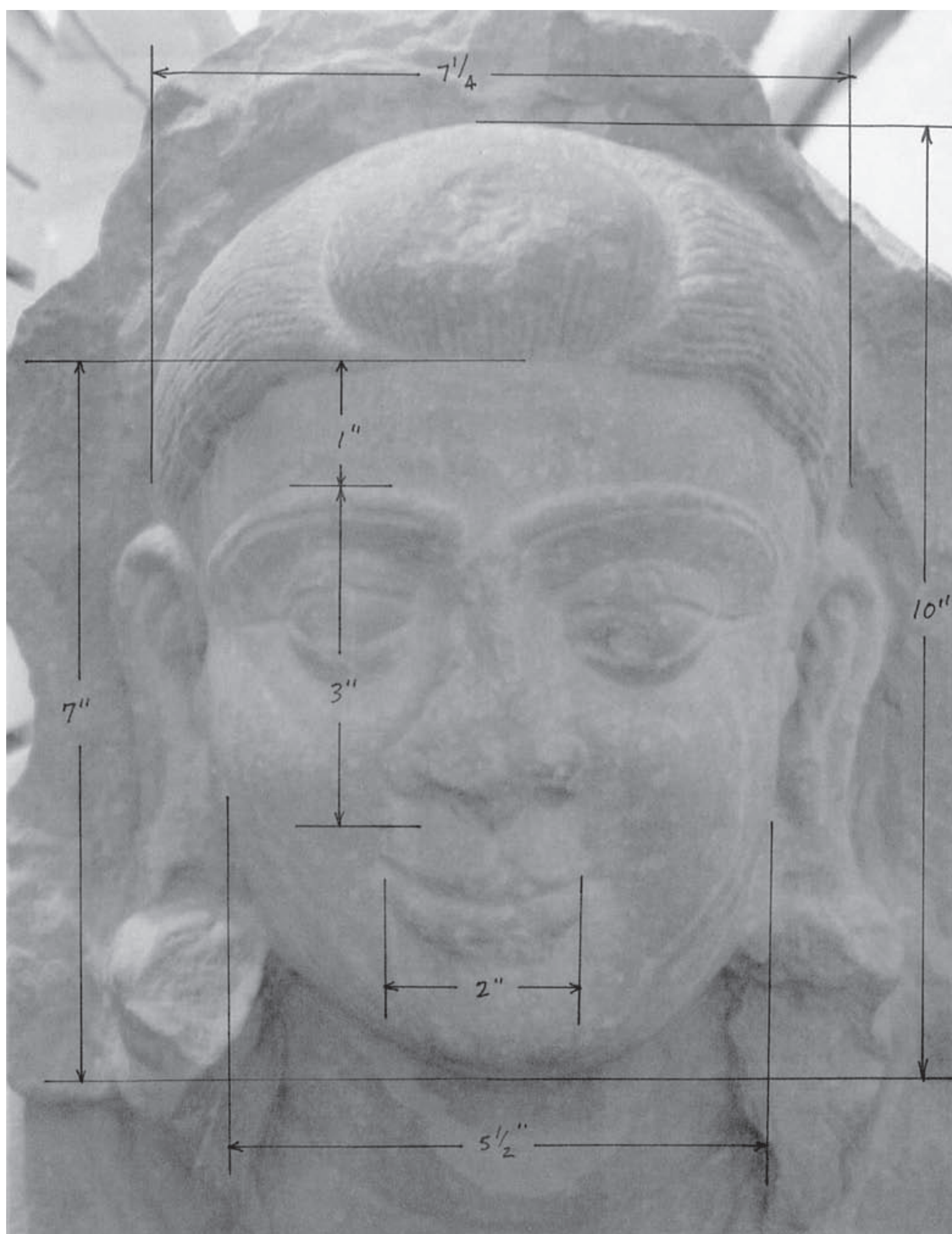


Fig. 13.17 Face of the Kansas City Nāginī, Fig. 13.3, with measurements. Photograph courtesy The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



Fig. 13.18 Comparative Scaled Image of the Three Nāginī's. Photograph by Mary Sorrentino.



Fig. 13.19 Amohini Āyavati from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathurā. c. 14 A.D. State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. J 1). Photograph after Vincent A. Smith, The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā. (Allahabad, 1901). Pl. XIV.



Fig. 13.20 The Akrur Yakṣī. Mathurā. Between late 1st century B.C.– early 1st century A.D. Mathura Museum (Acc. No. F 6). Photograph courtesy The Government Museum, Mathura.



Fig. 13.21 Tree Goddess, Uttar Pradesh, Mathurā. 1st century A.D. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M 86.21), Purchased with funds provided by Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch. Photograph copyright 2004 Museum Associates/LACMA.



Fig. 13.22 Nāgarāja from Chargaon, deinstalled in 2000 and lying on the Museum's floor. Kuṣāṇa Period. The Government Museum, Mathura (Acc. No. C 13). Author's photograph.



Fig. 14.1 Bone Handle, Sirkap. After Marshall 1975, III, pl. 203, 1, no.45



Fig. 14.2 Bone Handle, Ter. After *Dawn of Civilization in Mahārāṣṭra* 1975, 75, no. 60a.



Fig. 14.3 Terracotta *Bullae*, Ter. Lamture Museum, Ter. Photo Kurt Behrendt

Fig. 14.4 Terracotta Figurine, Ter. Lamture Museum, Ter. Photo Kurt Behrendt



Fig. 14.5 Kubera, the God of Riches, and his Spouse, Mathurā. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.72.2). Photo Museum Associates/LACMA



Fig. 14.6 Terracotta Figurine Mould, Alexandria, Egypt. After Breccia 1934, pl. CIII



A



B

Fig. 14.7A–B Terracotta Rattle, Bhokardan. Marathwada University Museum, Aurangabad. Photos Kurt Behrendt



Fig. 14.8 Terracotta Figurine of the god Bes, Egypt. After Torok 1995, no.11



Fig. 14.9 Sphinxes, Pitalkhorā. Photo Kurt Behrendt



Fig. 14.10 Terracotta Sphinx, Ter. Lamture Museum, Ter. Photo Kurt Behrendt



Fig. 14.11 Terracotta Sphinx, Alexandria, Egypt. After Breccia 1934, pl. CXLII